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MYCENAEAN CULT BUILDINGS

**A STUDY OF THEIR ARCHITECTURE AND FUNCTION IN THE CONTEXT OF
THE AEGEAN AND THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN**

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INTRODUCTION

The dissertation on which this book is based, owed much of its origin to questions raised by Colin Renfrew in his paper "Questions of Minoan and Mycenaean Cult".¹ Renfrew has suggested that it is likely that there were both temporal and regional variations in the religious practices and beliefs of the Aegean Bronze Age, and that there is a need to look at the evidence again from this point of view. Although it has been common to speak of a Minoan-Mycenaean religion, it has become increasingly clear that, in spite of marked similarities in religious iconography and cult equipment (e.g. double-axes, tripod offering tables, horns of consecration) there were probably fundamental differences in the religious beliefs and practices of Crete and the Mainland, and that it is misleading to speak of a uniform religion. Most of which has been written since the symposium on the sanctuaries and cults of the prehistoric Aegean, held at the Swedish Institute in Athens in 1981, presupposes that Mycenaean religion must be distinguished from Minoan, or at least that the religious unity of the Aegean cannot be assumed without further argument, and that an important area of research must be to establish the relationship between the religious customs of the Mainland and Crete and the extent to which Mycenaean religious beliefs and practices was influenced by Minoan religion. Marinatos and Hägg have pointed to the need for a detailed analysis of the archaeological remains of Mycenaean sanctuaries in order to establish the character of Mycenaean cult.²

The subject of this book concerns an aspect of Mycenaean sacred architecture. The discussion will in the main be limited to the Late Bronze III period (1400 - 1100) and will be an attempt to show that an analysis of the architectural evidence indicates clearly that Mycenaean and Minoan religious traditions differ considerably and that they influenced each other perhaps only in a superficial way. The Late Bronze III

¹ 1981, 27-33.

² 1981, 217.

period is of particular interest because it is from this time that we have the remains of religious architecture on the Mainland of Greece while the earlier evidence for cult areas on the Mainland is not very substantial. The Late Bronze III period is also of importance because the political ties between Crete and the Mainland were at this time particularly close. Extensive religious interaction between the two areas would not be surprising, although not necessarily expected.

The main part of this book concerns the origin and development of Mycenaean sacred architecture. It is now clear, since the discovery of the cult buildings at Phylakopi, Mycenae, Tiryns, and most recently Methana that it is possible to speak of Mycenaean sacred architecture. Attempts to define the Mycenaean cult buildings typologically and reach some conclusions concerning their architectural style have also been made, in particular by Albers who provides a very full account with extensive discussion of the Mycenaean cult buildings at Mycenae, Phylakopi, Tiryns, Asine, and Ayia Irini, which she terms *Stadtheiligtümer*.³ Albers leaves aside the question of origin, after some discussion, as her primary aim is a thorough investigation into the archaeological evidence for the Mycenaean cult buildings in order to present a synthetic view which can provide the basis for further studies on Mycenaean religion. In a later article, she discusses, however, in greater detail the question of a direct connection between the sanctuaries of the Aegean and the Levant.⁴

Rutkowski in his book on the sanctuaries of the Aegean Bronze Age devotes a chapter to Mycenaean temples, where he gives a detailed description of the architectural features of the individual structures.⁵ Concerning their origin he suggests that temples developed quite early in Greece, during the Neolithic; in support Rutkowski cites a building in the Neolithic settlement of Nea Nikomedia in Macedonia which has been identified as a shrine on account of the female figures found within it; he does not, however, show that there is any kind of continuity between this sanctuary and those which developed in the Late Bronze Age. Rutkowski describes the Minoan and Mycenaean cult buildings in separate chapters, but in the further discussion treats the various Minoan and Mycenaean cult buildings as examples of a common type and seems to regard them as related in origin. He suggests as a likely possibility that separate buildings

³ 1994; see also Hägg 1997, 411-412.

⁴ 1996.

⁵ 1986, 169-199.

dedicated to cult in the Aegean developed from shrines located in the house of the chief or ruler and that they originated parallel with the development of settlements. Van Leuven also argues that shrine types and their layouts go back to the Neolithic and existed throughout the Aegean.⁶ Renfrew, in the final publication of the sanctuary at Phylakopi, provides a discussion of the possible origins of the sanctuary at Phylakopi and its position within the context of Aegean religious architecture.⁷ He does not, however, reach any definite conclusions concerning the origin and architectural type of the sanctuary at Phylakopi, but suggests rather various avenues of research.

Since the culture of the Mycenaean mainland was influenced in many ways by Minoan Crete, the relationship between the Mycenaean cult buildings and the Minoan sanctuaries in the Late Bronze III period and the extent of exchange of religious influence between the two areas will be discussed. As a result of the downfall of the Minoan palatial system as well as of the possibility or even probability of a Mycenaean domination of Crete, the religious activity of the Late Minoan III period is likely to have been quite complex and perhaps in a state of rapid change. As has been noted by N. Marinatos, the period is insufficiently explored and in need of a separate monograph.⁸

One hypothesis which has received a certain amount of attention and acceptance is the possibility that the Mycenaean cult buildings were derived from Palestinian prototypes.⁹ The implications, however, of such a process of events have not been adequately examined, and there are, I believe, serious difficulties connected with the theory of a typological connection between sacred architecture in the Levant and in the Aegean. Alternatively, it will be proposed that the Mycenaean temples developed from local architectural traditions, as first suggested by Schäfer,¹⁰ and that their origin goes back to the Middle Helladic period.

An important direction in recent archaeological writing has been the recognition of the importance of ideology, including religious beliefs, and of how it functions in structuring the material world.¹¹ It is accepted that material culture is not shaped by purely utilitarian concerns but also

⁶ 1981, 20.

⁷ 1985, 361-443.

⁸ 1993, 222.

⁹ For references see Chapter Three.

¹⁰ 1983.

¹¹ Hodder 1992, 25; Renfrew 1994A.

ideological; for instance, the layout of the domestic architecture of a society may have a clear connection with its religious beliefs. It therefore becomes necessary for the archaeologist to attempt to understand ideological preconceptions and to take them into account in order to fully understand the material remains. Religion can be said to have three dimensions: theoretical, practical, and sociological. The theoretical aspect concerns doctrines, dogmas, myths, theologies, and ethics, the practical aspect concerns the cult forms including cult practices and places of worship, while the sociological aspect concerns religious groupings and ecclesiastical forms as well as the role of religion in society.¹² For a prehistoric society such as the Minoan or Mycenaean, we can only reconstruct the practical side with any degree of certainty and we can perhaps have little hope of gaining any deep insight into the theoretical or sociological aspects, although certain general conclusions can be drawn. Ritual practices can be deduced from the material evidence to a certain extent, but archaeology alone cannot provide detailed information about the specific beliefs associated with them.¹³ Since an infinite variety of beliefs and mental patterns can lie behind the same or similar ritual practices, the recovery of the religious beliefs of a prehistoric society would seem to be associated with unsurmountable problems and any conclusions remain necessarily to a large extent speculative.

In recent work on prehistoric religion in the Aegean, the focus has been on the identification of cult, that is on the recognition of areas where cult activity took place, and the reconstruction of ritual activity rather than on inferences concerning the underlying belief system.¹⁴ The possibilities of recovering religion from the archaeological remains have been discussed in some detail by Renfrew. He has argued that it is possible to arrive at conclusions concerning how prehistoric people thought although what they thought is not seen as a feasible enterprise.¹⁵ With regard to religion, the principal insights can be gained through an examination of the remains of cult places and cult equipment, and a thorough analysis of the contexts of recognised religious symbols may provide some insights into the underlying system of beliefs. Even if, the recovery of belief systems must be regarded as extremely difficult, certain more or less

¹² Wach 1944, 19-34; McGuire 1992, 15-20.

¹³ Cf. Hägg 1985, 205.

¹⁴ Hägg (1996, 600) has commented that we have not come any closer to understanding the religious beliefs of the Mycenaeans in the last thirty years.

¹⁵ 1994A.

universal aspects of religion may be recognised.¹⁶ Renfrew also suggests that the connections between burial and ritual have not been adequately studied and that a detailed study of burial practices might also provide information regarding the system of religious beliefs.¹⁷ Although it is important to recognise the limitations of the available evidence, I agree with Renfrew that it should be possible to come to some culture specific conclusions concerning belief systems and the social role of religion.¹⁸ A detailed analysis of cult symbols and burial practices lies beyond the scope of this book; I have however, tried to reach some conclusions regarding the function of the Mycenaean cult buildings as well as to show that what can be inferred from the archaeological evidence for cult indicates that there may have been fundamental differences between the belief systems of the Minoans and Mycenaeans as well as in the organisation and social role of religion.

¹⁶ 1985, 14; 1994B, 49.

¹⁷ 1985, 17; 1994B, 52-53.

¹⁸ 1982, 21; 1985, 1.

A NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

In an earlier article, I have referred to the Mycenaean cult buildings as temples.¹ In this study, I have preferred to avoid the use of the term temple for the Mycenaean sanctuaries under discussion here. In reference to the lack of particular architectural evidence for cult activity in Bronze Age Greece, Nilsson defined a temple as "a separate building set apart to be the abode of the deity and to shelter its image and paraphernalia".² It is now no longer true that separate buildings set apart for cultic use did not exist in Bronze Age Greece, and the sanctuaries at Mycenae, Phylakopi, Tiryns have been referred to as temples.³ However, on reflection, it has seemed best not to use the term as it often carries connotations of major public monuments.⁴ The small size and general lack of monumentality make it debatable whether the Mycenaean cult buildings should be referred to as temples. The term cult building has therefore in the main been preferred throughout as being the most neutral and precise. The word sanctuary has occasionally also been used; it is however more imprecise as it does not necessarily imply the existence of architecture but can also be used to refer to open air cult places.

On the other hand, the word temple has illogically been retained for the Palestinian cult buildings since it occurs universally in the literature on Canaanite cult buildings discovered in Israel, although these are not always characterised by monumentality.

Platform-like features, built against the wall, are often in the archaeological literature referred to as benches (e.g. Minoan Bench Sanctuaries), although their function is not always clear and it often seems equally or more probable that they were used as shelves or had

¹ 1996.

² 1950, 77.

³ Rutkowski 1986, 169-199.

⁴ E.g. Pelon (1984, 61) characterises temples as "edifice de culte individualisé à caractère monumental" and remarks that the Mycenaean cult buildings can hardly be called temples as they are not characterised by monumentality.

some other function rather than as seats. The word platform has therefore been preferred throughout as being more neutral with regard to precise function. Free-standing features, raised above the ground, may also have served a number of functions; these are also referred to as platforms except in those cases where a particular function is clear (e.g. hearth, altar).

The terms cult focus or focus-of-attention have been used for what seem to have been the main cultic feature within the cult buildings, i.e. platforms associated with cult material.

MYCENAEAN CULT BUILDINGS IN THE LH III PERIOD

In recent years a number of cult buildings have been excavated in the Aegean which can be seen to share some common features. The identification of the function of these buildings as religious has mainly been made on the basis of the clay figures found within them, and not primarily on the basis of the architecture or the fixed installations. Nonetheless, all of these sanctuaries have so many architectural features in common that they can be regarded as belonging to a definite group, having a common origin and sharing certain characteristics, rather than as having developed separately, although perhaps in response to the same general religious tendencies.¹ The cult buildings included in this group are the West and East Shrine at Phylakopi (Catalogue A 4), the Temple and the Room with the Fresco Complex in the Cult Centre at Mycenae (Catalogue A 3), Room 117, Room 110, Room 110a in the Unterburg at Tiryns (Catalogue A 6), and the newly discovered sanctuary at Methana (Catalogue A 2). Otherwise, the archaeological evidence for cult areas in the Mycenaean world is scrappy and the attempt to differentiate sanctuaries typologically can therefore only be tentative. In most cases, areas identified as places of cult are isolated examples and architectural evidence is often lacking (Table 1).² Open air sanctuaries may have been common. It also seems very probable that the megara in the palaces at Pylos, Tiryns, and Mycenae had symbolic significance and that ceremonies of a religious nature took place within them.³ On the other hand, it is questionable whether the palace megara were used exclusively or even mainly for cultic activity.

¹ Renfrew (1985, 407-410) seems to accept that the cult buildings at Phylakopi, Mycenae, and Tiryns are typologically related.

² Hägg 1968; Mylonas 1977, 7-27; Rutkowski 1986, 169-199, 213-222; Felsch 1981, 81-89; Kilian 1990, 1992, 16-17; Müller 1992, 478-481; J. Wright 1990. The cultic interpretation of the material from the site of the temple to Athena Pronoia (Marmaria) at Delphi and from Ayia Triadha (Klenies) has been disputed by Müller (1992, 481-486). It is important to note that the deposit at Marmaria is of late Geometric or early Archaic date, and it is possible that the Mycenaean material derived from tombs rather than from an open air sanctuary or less probably a cult building.

³ Kilian 1981B; 1988A; 1992; Hägg 1995, 389-390; 1996, 607; J. Wright 1994, 56-60.

The catalogue of Mycenaean cult buildings (Catalogue A) includes those cult areas which have the remains of architecture, indicating buildings or rooms set apart for cult use. The cult building at Methana (Catalogue A 2) is still under excavation and study and has as yet only been published in a preliminary way. The published material suggests, however, that it is closely comparable to the cult buildings at Mycenae and Phylakopi.⁴

The Megaron, Rooms xxv, xxviii, xxiv in the Cult Centre at Mycenae and Room 93 in the palace at Pylos have been included in the Catalogue as their cultic function seems certain, although the evidence for cult is not extensive. The evidence published to date does not show incontestably that the Megaron (Catalogue A 3B) in the Cult Centre at Mycenae was a cult building. It has, however, here been tentatively accepted as such on account of its location and close connection with the other cult buildings in the Cult Centre.⁵ It differs from them, however, in the fact that there were no platforms in its central room. No clay figures were found in the central room, nor were there any other finds which would suggest that the building had a cultic function. Since very little has been published concerning this building, it is difficult to make any definite statements about it or come to any conclusions regarding its function. The pottery found in the basements was apparently of a cultic nature.⁶

The three rooms (xxv, xxviii, xxiv) to the south of the Room with the Fresco Complex (Catalogue A 3D), although part of the same building, may have formed an independent cult structure as they do not communicate directly with the rooms in the Room with the Fresco Complex, but rather with the court to the south from which also the Temple was entered. All three rooms communicated directly with the court and there was also a doorway between rooms xxv and xxviii. Room xxiv may have had some connection with the altar in the court which was built on its axis.⁷

Very little definite can be said about Room 93 at Pylos (Catalogue A 5). The interpretation of Room 93 as a cult area was made on the basis of the platform in the courtyard. This platform was identified by the excava-

⁴ I am very grateful to Eleni Konsolaki for taking the time to discuss her excavations at Methana with me and for sending me a copy of her article in *Delfion* before its appearance in print.

⁵ Cf. Albers 1994, 27.

⁶ French 1981, 45; Kilian 1992, 17, ftnt. 90.

⁷ Mylonas 1974, 90.

tors as a probable altar.⁸ Since it was covered with painted plaster and no traces of fire were found on it, it was not a sacrificial altar; it could, however, have been used for other types of offerings or for the deposition of votives. The platform is located exactly on the axis of Room 93 and a connection between Room 93 and the platform can therefore almost certainly be established. Fragments of kylikes and miniature kylikes were found within Room 93 which could corroborate the identification as a cult area since kylikes were commonly found in the cult buildings at Mycenae, Phylakopi, and Tiryns (see Chapter Eight). Along the east side of the courtyard in front of Room 93 there was a roofed colonnade which may have provided shelter for those watching the cultic activities which would have been centred on the platform in the courtyard.

Regarding House G (Catalogue A 1) at Asine it is at present not possible to determine whether the whole building or only Room XXXII had a religious function since not enough has been published concerning the finds from the other rooms of the house. It may have been a private house with a domestic shrine rather than a public sanctuary. If Room XXXII was a public sanctuary, it would seem reasonable that there was an entrance in the south wall so that the sanctuary was accessible, perhaps through an anteroom, from the street.⁹ The platform would then be situated at the opposite end of the room. Comparisons can be made between the material from Room XXXII of House G and that found in cult buildings elsewhere. The large clay head, the "Lord of Asine" is broken at the neck, indicating most probably that it had been part of a whole figure.¹⁰ The similarity of this clay head to one of the clay statues at Tiryns has been remarked upon by Kilian.¹¹ It could be suggested that it may have belonged to a cult figure of a similar type to those found at Mycenae, Phylakopi, and Tiryns. On the other hand, it is also very similar to the head of a half-human, half-animal figure found at Ayia Triadha.¹² D'Agata has recently re-examined the figure of the "Lord of Asine" and concluded that it belongs to a class of fantastic animals which occur in cultic contexts on Crete and Cyprus and which can be dated to the middle

⁸ Blegen & Rawson 1966, 302.

⁹ Cf. Hägg 1996, 610.

¹⁰ Hägg 1996, 610.

¹¹ 1978, 461.

¹² Laviosa 1968, 87-90.

of the LH IIIC period. The head found at Asine represents an unique find on the Mainland.¹³

The five smaller clay figurines found associated with the large clay head were all female; they had a conical stem, upraised arms, and flat-topped, slightly backward sloping heads; at least one has a painted necklace. They resemble quite closely female figurines from the cult buildings at Phylakopi and Tiryns.¹⁴ Apart from the triple vase which can be compared to the double vases found at Phylakopi, none of the pottery was of a specialised cultic nature, but consists of a small amount of fine ware, both decorated and undecorated, as well as an amphora of coarse ware. Worth mention, however, is a kylix. The stone axe resembles a stone axe found in the street near the entrance to the courtyard at Phylakopi. It is therefore possible that the objects found within Room XXXII of House G came from a sanctuary similar to those at Mycenae, Phylakopi, and Tiryns. Hägg, however, has re-examined the evidence on the sanctuary at Asine and concludes that the appearance and function of the platform may have been quite different from that of the platforms in the sanctuaries at Mycenae and Tiryns. The platform in Room XXXII at Asine was built of flat stones, and was not covered with plaster or mud.¹⁵ The objects found in Room XXXII were not found on the platform or in a position on the floor which could suggest they had fallen from it, but rather in a layer of charcoal and clay framed by pebbles which lay to the west of the platform. Moreover, on the floor, in front of the platform along the east wall was found a deposit of charcoal, ashes, sherds, and bones which could have been swept down from the platform and was so interpreted by the excavator.¹⁶ The platform in Room XXXII of House G at Asine seems therefore more likely to have been a hearth as suggested in the original publication and not for the display of cult objects or votives.¹⁷ The find-spot of the cult material within the room is difficult to understand. It would seem possible to suggest that the objects did not originally belong within Room XXXII but rather had come from a sanctuary located elsewhere and had been deposited within House G when the sanctuary went out of use. This could be suggested by the fact that only the head of a large

¹³ D'Agata 1996.

¹⁴ French in Renfrew 1985, 210-212, figs. 6.1, 6.2; Kilian 1981B, Pl. 6.

¹⁵ Hägg 1981B, 93.

¹⁶ Hägg 1981B, 93.

¹⁷ Hägg 1981B, 91-94.

clay figure was found in the room. The findspot of the cult objects in Room XXXII could suggest that they had been used as fill material in an enlargement of the hearth. On the other hand, the jug with the deliberately broken bottom found turned upside down between the platform/hearth and the wall indicates libations and suggests that the room had a cultic function which was not purely domestic.

Clay figures similar to the ones from Mycenae and Phylakopi have been found elsewhere, in contexts which are otherwise uninformative with regard to function and display. At Tsoungiza, the lower part of a figure was found in what seemed to be a sacred deposit, along with numerous female and animal figurines. No architecture was directly associated with the deposit, but it seems likely that the material originated from a structure in or near the settlement at Tsoungiza.¹⁸

At Amyklai, in the area of the later sanctuary to Amyklaion Apollo, large human clay figures as well as animal clay figurines, comparable to the material from Mycenae, Phylakopi, and Tiryns, were found spread over the area. The material which has been dated to the LH IIIC period may have come from a cult building of the same type, but it was found in disturbed layers and there were no architectural remains from the Mycenaean period.¹⁹ Very little pottery was found in the area, which indicates that if the clay figures are to be associated with a cult building, it did not lie within a settlement. It has been suggested that the settlement at Amyklai lay elsewhere, perhaps on one of the surrounding hills.²⁰

A female clay figure was found associated with a Mycenaean house near the Menelaion at Sparta. There is no other indication that the house may have been used for cult, but very little has been reported concerning the building and the finds.²¹

At Midea, near the West Gate, a clay figure similar to those from Mycenae, Tiryns, Phylakopi as well as other material of a cultic nature was found, indicating the possibility of a cult building in the vicinity of the citadel walls as at Mycenae and Tiryns.²² A fragment of a large figure was also found on the Lower Terraces at Midea.²³

¹⁸ J. Wright 1994, 69; 1990, 635-637; see also J. Wright, in discussion to Hägg 1995, 391.

¹⁹ Demakopoulou 1982; See also Hägg 1968, 54; J. Wright 1994, 65.

²⁰ Demakopoulou 1982, 79-80.

²¹ Catling 1995.

²² Wells 1996, 6.

²³ Demakopoulou et al. 1994, 36-38; Walberg 1996, 1335.

At Delphi a fragment of a female figure and fragments of several animal figures suggest the presence of a cult building in the area of the temple of Apollo. The exact provenance of these fragments is unknown.²⁴

An almost complete female figure with upraised arms was long ago found on Mount Oros on Aegina. Very little is known of the precise context, and the excavations on Oros were never fully published. The remains of a circuit wall and the walls of a considerable number of rooms were discovered on Oros. The finds from Oros include metal objects, tools, weapons, gold jewellery as well as pottery, including jugs with the remains of grain. The date of the figure has been suggested as LH IIIA/B. Since a mountain peak would seem an unusual location for a Mycenaean settlement, it could be suggested that the site in its entirety was of a religious nature.²⁵

Furthermore, fragments of large human clay figures have been found at Mycenae (North Slope of Acropolis, Chamber Tomb 40), Kynortion (Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas), Thebes, Eutresis, Athens, Hydra, Aigina (area of the temple to Athena Aphaia).²⁶ A large female clay figure found in a dump along with other objects of a cultic nature in the area just to the east of the Cult Centre at Mycenae most probably had belonged within a building in the Cult Centre and had later been thrown out perhaps in connection with a ritual cleaning.²⁷

As has been pointed out by Catling, it seems most probable that these figures belonged to an important class of material which is poorly represented in the surviving archaeological material.²⁸ Although the find contexts do not prove that large clay human figures were made exclusively for cult use, the occurrence of many of them in association with cult buildings, or with an open air cult place as at Kynortion, suggests that this not unprobably might have been the case.²⁹ None of these figures was found in a definitely non cultic context indicating a function, unconnected with specific ritual usage, although one such figure was found in a burial context at Mycenae. Accordingly, it seems most likely that

²⁴ Hägg 1968, 54; Müller 1992, 478-481.

²⁵ Pilafidis-Williams 1995, 229-234.

²⁶ Catling 1995, 190-193; Peppas-Papaioannou 1985; Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 113-114; Pilafidis-Williams 1995.

²⁷ Mylonas 1975, 156; Albers 1994, 21.

²⁸ Catling 1995, 187.

²⁹ Cf. Catling 1995, 189.

Mycenaean cult buildings were not exceptional occurrences and it is not unreasonable to hope that future excavations will increase our knowledge of Mycenaean religious architecture and consequently also of Mycenaean religious practices considerably.

Other Late Bronze Age structures which have been interpreted as cult buildings

Other Late Bronze Age structures have been identified as sanctuaries. The identification has been based mainly on peculiarities of the architecture. In no case, owing to the lack of associated finds of a cultic nature, is the evidence for cult use very compelling.

Megaron B at Eleusis (Catalogue D 2) has, since it was first excavated, commonly been regarded as having had a cultic function.³⁰ The arguments for regarding Megaron B as a cult building have been discussed in some detail by Darcque who arrives at the conclusion which is surely correct, that there are no valid reasons for considering Megaron B as a sanctuary.³¹

The main reason why Megaron B was first considered as a cult building was the fact that it lies directly below the later Telesterion.³² However, almost five centuries separate the last Bronze Age levels from the later use of the site.³³ The earliest secure evidence for the use of the site as a sanctuary dedicated to Demeter dates to the sixth century. There seems therefore little reason to connect the Mycenaean building with the later cult buildings and to argue that the Eleusinian mysteries have their origin in Bronze Age cult practices.

Further arguments for the cult use of Megaron B have been based on aspects of the architecture, more specifically on the terrace in front of the building, and the surmised existence of a peribolos wall surrounding the court which would have ensured that the structure was separated from the surrounding buildings. The extension of the central part of the anteroom beyond the antae into a terrace was seen by Mylonas as a place

³⁰ Mylonas & Kourouniotis 1933, 274-276, 284-287; Hägg 1968, 46; Rutkowski 1972, 191. The cultic function of Megaron B is argued in some detail by Mylonas 1961, 33-38. See Darcque 1981, for further references and discussion.

³¹ Darcque 1981, 593-605.

³² Mylonas & Kourouniotis 1933, 285; Mylonas 1961, 43.

³³ Darcque 1981, 599, with further references. The oldest recorded votives date to the eighth century (Coldstream 1977, 331-332).

from which the mysteries could be shown to the initiates standing in the court and as the setting for an altar.³⁴ Darcque, on the other hand, thinks the terrace may have been part of the terracing supporting the floor of the main room, as it was in fact first interpreted by the excavators themselves.³⁵ This does not, however, seem a sufficient explanation for the presence of the terrace which must at this stage remain unexplained. The existence of a peribolos wall surrounding Megaron B and its court would certainly be an unusual feature and its purpose was according to Mylonas to separate a sacred area from its surroundings.³⁶ This wall is preserved only in part on the north and south sides of Megaron B, and the existence of a wall completely surrounding Megaron B and its court has been questioned by Darcque who points to the existence of other Mycenaean walls in the same area with which it seems equally possible that the remnants of the so-called peribolos wall should be connected.³⁷

Although, it can certainly be argued that Megaron B possibly presents some abnormalities when compared with other Mycenaean houses and may have had a specialised function of some sort, there is no reason to assume that it must necessarily be connected with cult. The discovery of the sanctuaries at Phylakopi, Mycenae, and Tiryns has strengthened the case against regarding Megaron B as a Mycenaean cult building. None of these structures have any feature which can be compared with the terrace of Megaron B, nor were any of them separated from their surroundings by means of a wall so even given the unquestionable existence of the wall surrounding Megaron B it cannot be used as an argument for the cultic nature of Megaron B.³⁸ As well, there were no platforms along the walls. No objects of a specifically cultic nature were found in Megaron B.³⁹ A small fragment of wall plaster painted with a representation of a human eye found within the main room should, however, be mentioned.⁴⁰ This fragment was taken by Mylonas as a further indication of the cultic nature of Megaron B. Painted plaster is not in itself necessarily indicative of cult

³⁴ Mylonas 1933, 285; 1961, 47; 1977, 15-16.

³⁵ 1981, 600.

³⁶ Mylonas & Kourouniotis 1933, 285.

³⁷ 1981, 601-604.

³⁸ The fact that Mycenaean cult buildings were not separated by a wall from surrounding buildings is also remarked upon by Darcque (1981, 601, fnnt. 52); Hiesel 1990, 45.

³⁹ Mylonas & Kourouniotis 1933, 284; cf. Darcque 1981, 600.

⁴⁰ Mylonas 1961, 43; Darcque 1981, 600; Hiesel 1990, 45.

use but the fragment is of some interest since painted wall plaster is not commonly found in ordinary domestic architecture.

The structure lying below the later Artemision (the Pre-Artémision Ac), Temple Gamma, and Megaron H on Delos have been considered Bronze Age temples, and it has been suggested that Delos was already from the Bronze Age an important cult place with three temples.⁴¹ As at Eleusis, the arguments for this identification have been based entirely on the fact that they were located on the site of a later sanctuary and on conclusions drawn from the architecture and there were no finds which could corroborate the identification.⁴² Since the remains of these structures are very fragmentary, little can be said conclusively about the architecture. Only parts of the walls of the Pre-Artémision Ac are preserved. It is a long narrow building, oriented east/west with the entrance at the eastern end of the long southern wall.⁴³ Temple Gamma is also a long narrow building and is oriented north/south. It was almost completely open at the north end.⁴⁴ Both the Pre-Artémision Ac and Temple Gamma were isolated from other structures and Temple Gamma appears also to have been surrounded by a peribolos wall;⁴⁵ there is, however, no particular reason to assume that the purpose of this deliberate segregation was to separate a sacred area from its surroundings. The Pre-Artémision Ac was larger and of better construction than most of the other structures on Delos. However, as pointed out by Desborough, there is no reason why it could not have been a rich man's house.⁴⁶ Traces of other Mycenaean walls in the same area could have belonged to the same complex and could indicate that the Pre-Artémision Ac may have been part of a larger building. Several centuries separate the Pre-Artémision Ac from the Archaic Artemision which dates to the beginning of the seventh century.⁴⁷ The case for Building H is based on its close proximity to the later Greek temple G dating to the Archaic period; it is so badly preserved that it has not been possible to establish its groundplan.⁴⁸

⁴¹ Gallet de Santerre 1958, 89.

⁴² Gallet de Santerre 1958; Bruneau & Ducat 1966; Hägg 1968, 48.

⁴³ Gallet de Santerre 1958, 90-91; Bruneau & Ducat 1966, 100.

⁴⁴ Gallet de Santerre 1958, 91-93; Bruneau & Ducat 1966, 80.

⁴⁵ See, however, Mylonas 1966, 148; Darcque 1981, 601. Only a very small part of this wall is preserved.

⁴⁶ 1964, 40-47.

⁴⁷ Bruneau & Ducat 1966, 101.

⁴⁸ Gallet de Santerre 1958, 93.

Another reason why the Pre-Artémision Ac was considered a Mycenaean cult building was the foundation deposit below the later Artemision. Most of the material from it was of a Mycenaean date; the deposit includes objects of ivory, bone, gold, bronze.⁴⁹ Certain resemblances to the material from the Sanctuary at Phylakopi have been noted by Renfrew.⁵⁰ Most interesting is the figurine of a Canaanite god similar to those found in association with the Sanctuary at Phylakopi. It is therefore not implausible that some of the objects of Mycenaean date found in the foundation deposit of the Artemision came from a Bronze Age Delian cult building; it does not, however, necessarily follow that this was the Pre-Artémision, and it would seem unlikely as it has none of the architectural features of the Mycenaean cult buildings at Phylakopi, Mycenae, Tiryns. In particular, there were apparently no platforms.

At Mouriatadha in Messenia (Catalogue D 8), a building (so-called temple) lying circa one hundred metres away from Megaron A was identified as a cult building because it contained the remains of a platform in one corner.⁵¹ The building had a main room with four columns in two rows of which three bases remained; in addition there was an anteroom and a room behind the main room. No associated objects were found and consequently the proposed identification as a cult building cannot be corroborated. Nor can the building be dated precisely.⁵² In plan the building is similar to Mycenaean houses found elsewhere, eg. to several of the houses at Korakou (Catalogue D 5A-C) or at Ayios Kosmas (Catalogue D 1A, B).

Characteristics of Mycenaean cult buildings

Architecturally Mycenaean cult buildings differ to a certain extent in size, in the position of the entrance (Table 2), and in the proportions of the central room. The presence or not of subsidiary rooms also varies (Table 3). There is also some variation in the details of the fixed installations (Table 4); for example in the presence and number of platforms against

⁴⁹ Gallet de Santerre & Tréheux 1947-1948, 148-254; Poursat 1977, 152; see also Tournavitou 1995A, 479-527.

⁵⁰ 1985, 411-412.

⁵¹ S. Marinatos 1960A, 150-151; 1960B, 204-205.

⁵² Desborough 1964, 42; Hägg 1968, 46; Shear 1968, 345; Darcque 1990, 25.

the walls; in some cases there is also a low dais or platform in the centre of the main room.

The West Shrine at Phylakopi, Tsountas' House Shrine, the Megaron, the Temple, the Room with the Fresco Complex at Mycenae consisted of more than one room. Usually one room is significantly larger and can be considered the main or central room of the sanctuary. Whether it was also the most important room from the point of view of the cult does not necessarily follow, since in many examples of cult buildings, the room most removed from the outside, which is the least visible and accessible, is considered the most sacred (e.g. Egyptian temples).

A consistent feature in many of the cult buildings is the presence of a platform or a series of platforms against the wall, at the further end of the main room from the entrance. Platforms were found against the short wall furthest from the entrance in the main room of the West and East Shrines at Phylakopi, in the Temple, Tsountas' House Shrine, the Room with the Fresco Complex at Mycenae, in Room 117, Room 110, Room 110a at Tiryns, and at Methana. The appearance of the platforms within the main room of the cult buildings varies. That they served the same purpose, however, is shown by the location of the finds, which indicates that they were used for the placement of cult objects, in particular clay figures, and possibly for the deposition of votives. In the case of Room Gamma 1 in Tsountas' House Shrine, this has to be assumed on analogy since no cult equipment was found in connection with the platform against the south wall. The raised discs on the platform in Room 31 are without parallel. Their appearance suggested that they might have functioned as hearths;⁵³ however, there were no significant traces of ash found on them, so it seems unlikely that they were used for burning. An alternative suggestion is that they were receptacles for small offerings placed on the platform. A comparison can be suggested with the small bowl found in Room 19 which contained beads and other small objects or with the mortar found in the West Shrine which also seems to have functioned as a receptacle.⁵⁴ The bowl found associated with the platform in Room 110 at Tiryns could have been used for small offerings as could also the bird's nest bowl found within Room 31. The platforms in Room 110 and Room 110a at Tiryns were covered with clay,⁵⁵ while the platforms at Phylakopi,

⁵³ Taylour 1969, 94.

⁵⁴ Renfrew 1985, 48.

⁵⁵ Kilian 1978, 461.

Mycenae, and Room 117 at Tiryns were covered with plaster.⁵⁶ Apart from the platform in Room 31 of the Room with the Fresco Complex which had pictorial decoration, the plaster seems to have been plain white.

Only the fresco on the north side of the platform in Room 31 is preserved. That the subject of the fresco on the platform in the Room with the Fresco Complex was a shrine has been suggested by Renfrew and by N. Marinatos.⁵⁷ A comparison with fragments of frescoes from the Propylon in the palace at Pylos indicates that this interpretation is surely correct and it can be suggested that the lower missing part should be restored as a facade with columns.⁵⁸ The platforms located in the main room can be interpreted as the main focus-of-attention of the sanctuary and the main room can be considered the central room not only in terms of size but also from the point of view of the cult practised within the building.

Low steps were found in connection with the platform in Room 31 at Mycenae and in Room 117 at Tiryns. They could have been used for the placement of cult equipment. The most obvious suggestion is that they were for lamps or incense-burners. The West Shrine at Phylakopi, Room Gamma 1 of Tsountas' House Shrine, and the cult building at Methana also had platforms along the long walls.

Since the platforms were located at the far end from the entrance into the main room, there is a clear progression along the main axis of the room from the entrance towards the focus-of-attention. It is worth noticing, however, that before the building of Room 32 there was also an entrance into Room 31 of the Room with the Fresco Complex at Mycenae from the east, directly behind the platforms.

A low platform situated in the centre of the room was a feature of several of the cult buildings at Mycenae. These platforms vary considerably in appearance and probably also, it seems, in function.⁵⁹ The platform in the centre of the main room of the Temple was low, rectangular with rounded corners; it was more than a metre long but only a few centimetres high and it consisted of earth covered with clay. The surface is slightly concave. Its position in the room suggests it may have been a

⁵⁶ Renfrew 1985, 369; Kilian 1979, 390; Taylour 1981, 18.

⁵⁷ Renfrew 1985, 419; N. Marinatos 1988, 245-246.

⁵⁸ Cf. Lang 1969, Pl. 78, in particular 8A3.

⁵⁹ Cf. Albers 1996, 653.

hearth, but no traces of burning were found on it.⁶⁰ The horseshoe-shaped platform within Gamma 1 is of a similar construction. It is ca. twenty cm high; it consisted of clay mixed with plesia covered with lime plaster. Its surface is slightly concave.⁶¹ Traces of smoke were found on its surface, but these were slight indicating that it was not used regularly as a hearth.⁶² The platform in Room 31 of the Room with the Fresco Complex consisted of earth covered with clay; the north and south sides were bordered by large stones. It may have been a hearth and was so identified by the excavator, and a cooking pot was found in the vicinity. It is similar in construction to hearths found in the houses at Korakou which are securely identified by the ash layers found on them.⁶³ The platform in the centre of Room 2 of the Megaron was square and built of clay. It could be identified as a hearth from the thick layer of black ash with which it was covered.⁶⁴ At Methana there was a low dais constructed of stone slabs. It is also possible that there may have been a platform in the West Shrine at Phylakopi concealed by the blocking wall.

Room 31 at Mycenae is the only room where fresco decoration has been preserved on the walls. In the earth which had been thrown out of Room Gamma was found a fragment of a fresco painted in miniature style depicting a female (?) figure wearing a boar's tusk helmet and holding a small winged griffin.⁶⁵ Kritseli-Providis suggests, in her publication of the frescoes from the Cult Centre at Mycenae, that it may have come from a plaque similar to the one found by Tsountas within Room Gamma.⁶⁶ There is, however, no particular reason to believe that the fragment was part of a plaque and it seems the fragment may have been part of the wall decoration of Room Gamma.⁶⁷ Two fragments from a fresco showing a procession were found in the fill above the Temple and could have come from the area of the Megaron.⁶⁸ The occurrence of fine white plaster at Phylakopi, some of which was found in situ within the

⁶⁰ Tylour 1970, 273.

⁶¹ Mylonas 1982, 314.

⁶² Mylonas 1972, 119.

⁶³ Blegen 1921, 83.

⁶⁴ Tylour 1981, 46.

⁶⁵ Mylonas 1977, 22; Kritseli-Providis 1982, 28-33; Immerwahr 1990, 121, 192. This figure has been identified as female because the skin is rendered with white paint. It is the only known portrayal of a female figure with a boar's tusk helmet. It could therefore also be suggested that the figure is male and that the white skin denoted divinity.

⁶⁶ 1982, 32.

⁶⁷ Cf. Rehak 1984, 542.

⁶⁸ Tylour 1981, 19; French 1981, 45.

West Shrine shows that the walls of the sanctuary buildings were covered in white painted plaster. Fragments of painted plaster were also recovered within the West Shrine at Phylakopi; according to the excavator, they do not, however, suggest mural decoration.⁶⁹ Fragments of red-painted plaster were found within Room 117, but the suggestion that the whole room may have been painted red is rejected by Kilian.

The main room of the Temple at Mycenae had a row of three posts situated against the staircase to the east of the main axis and there may have been an additional post in the anteroom. The purpose of the posts is unclear. The roof span does not seem so great as to need additional support. French has indicated, however, that the function of the posts was probably structural as the eastern wall may not have been strong enough to support the roof.⁷⁰ Traces of a possible post were found within Room 117 and the room has been restored with a column by the excavator.⁷¹ Since Room 117 is a very small building, the post cannot have had any necessary structural function. Its function must therefore be seen as decorative or symbolic. There may also originally have been posts within the central room of the West Shrine at Phylakopi, but this was not possible to ascertain because the later blocking wall which was not removed obscures any evidence.⁷²

One or more subsidiary rooms were a feature of the West Shrine at Phylakopi as well as of the Temple and the Room with the Fresco Complex at Mycenae. The function of these subsidiary rooms is not completely clear. They have been tentatively identified as storerooms for cult equipment when not in use. In several cases, however, they have features which suggest a more important or central function. Some of the objects found in Rooms A and B behind the main sanctuary room in the West Shrine at Phylakopi can be regarded as votives. As well, there may have been platforms along the west walls of the rooms.⁷³ It is possible then that these rooms were used as secondary cult rooms for the deposition of votive offerings. The open niches communicating with the main room suggest as well, that they were not merely storerooms. On present evi-

⁶⁹ Renfrew 1985, 97, 338, 143-148.

⁷⁰ In Negbi 1988, 349, fnnt.29.

⁷¹ Kilian 1981B, fig 4.

⁷² Renfrew 1985, 369.

⁷³ Renfrew 1985, 378; see also Albers 1994, 136.

dence it is not possible to determine more precisely the function of the subsidiary rooms.

The room lying to the east of the main room in the Room with the Fresco Complex at Mycenae has been termed a shrine because of the figure found standing on the platform in the south corner of the room. French, however, considers it more likely that the room was a religious store since tools and raw materials were found within the room, indicating a workshop area in the vicinity.⁷⁴ The amphora neck found embedded in the floor of Room 33 suggests libations and that some form of ritual took place there. Tsountas originally identified Room Gamma of Tsountas' House Shrine as a storeroom.⁷⁵ Mylonas, on the other hand, has considered that Room Gamma was an *adyton* on account of the fact that when Room Gamma 1 was built its walls were extended so as to completely enclose Room Gamma indicating, according to Mylonas, that a special significance was attributed to Room Gamma.⁷⁶ Further, if the walls of Room Gamma did have fresco decoration, it seems likely that it was not merely a storeroom. There are, however, no further clues to its function. Nor is it possible to determine whether Room 19 in the Temple at Mycenae was merely a storeroom for cult equipment or whether it had a more ritual function.

The cult buildings at Phylakopi and Tiryns seem to have been one storey buildings. No traces of staircases have been reported. It is possible that the buildings in the Cult Centre of Mycenae may have had a second storey.⁷⁷ In the preliminary reports of the excavation at the Cult Centre it was suggested that there may have been a staircase going up from the anteroom of the Temple;⁷⁸ if this is the case, it would have led to a room lying above the central room and on the same level as Room 19 (Fig. 51). The function of the posts in Room 18 may have been mainly to support a second storey. The mortar found in the anteroom of the Room with the Fresco Complex was found in two pieces, one inside the room and one outside which could indicate that it might have fallen from an upper storey.⁷⁹ The previously mentioned fresco fragment found in the fill of the Temple may have come from a room above the main room.

⁷⁴ 1981, 45.

⁷⁵ 1886, 79.

⁷⁶ 1982, 311.

⁷⁷ Taylour 1981, 14-15.

⁷⁸ Taylour 1970, 274.

⁷⁹ Evely 1992, 4.

The entrance to the cult buildings in some cases is not on the major axis or aligned with the cult focus, and it seems unlikely that the orientation of the entrance is of any great significance. In fact the orientation of the entrance is inconsistent and in none of the sanctuaries is the entrance oriented to a cardinal point (Fig. 52). Nor is there any consistency in the orientation of the cult focus (Fig. 53). This does not preclude that there was a particular reason for the orientation of the cult focus in the individual cult buildings, but there is no evidence of this and it seems most reasonable to assume that the orientation of the Mycenaean cult buildings was determined by the topography of a particular site more than by anything else. This seems particularly clear at Mycenae where the terrain was very uneven. Open areas or courtyards were associated with the cult buildings at Pylos, Phylakopi, Tiryns, and with the Temple and Tsountas' House Shrine in the Cult Centre at Mycenae. The location of the cult buildings in near proximity to fortification walls is analogous at Phylakopi, Mycenae, and Tiryns.⁸⁰

The rounded stone in the courtyard near the entrance to the West Shrine at Phylakopi was interpreted as a baetyl by the excavator. The evidence for baetyl cult in Minoan Crete has recently been reviewed by Warren.⁸¹ A comparison with the evidence from Crete makes it likely that the stone at Phylakopi had a ritual function and also that it can be regarded as a specifically Minoan element in the cult practised at Phylakopi. Definite evidence for the cult of sacred stones is lacking for the Mainland, although it can possibly be suggested for the stone found in Room Gamma 1 of Tsountas' House Shrine.

A direct association between cult and workshop areas can be argued in the case of Mycenae.⁸² At Phylakopi the occurrence of cores, crested blades, flakes from the preparation of cores of obsidian and other rock material indicate lithic activity in the vicinity of the sanctuary.⁸³ Metalworking may also have taken place as indicated by finds of slag and a clay mould for bronze casting.⁸⁴ At Methana the number of stone tools found in one room of the building may indicate a workshop area con-

⁸⁰ Remarkd upon by Rutkowski (1986, 185) and by Warren (1986, 155).

⁸¹ 1990, 193-206.

⁸² See French 1981, 45; Taylour 1981, 17-18. Tools and raw materials were found in the basement rooms of the Megaron and in Room 32 of the Room with the Fresco Complex. In addition, the open area lying to the north of the Room with the Fresco complex was used as a workshop.

⁸³ Renfrew 1985, 388, 470.

⁸⁴ Renfrew 1985, 300, 388.

nected with the sanctuary.⁸⁵ At Tiryns there is no evidence for any workshop activity in the vicinity of the sanctuaries. At Midea, a workshop area was identified in the area of the West gate.⁸⁶ At Pylos, the shrine was located in a complex of rooms identified as a workshop as indicated by the finds of cores and debitage from lithic activity. A close connection between cult and industrial activity is suggested by the Linear B tablets which mention bronzesmiths in the service of Potnia.⁸⁷ It has been suggested that some aspects of materials and crafts were controlled by a religious economy and that therefore tools and raw materials were kept within sanctuaries.⁸⁸

Depictions of sanctuaries occur in Mycenaean art. It is, however, difficult to apply them to the actual archaeological remains. The gold foil representations of tripartite shrines from the Shaft Graves were most likely Minoan imports and are therefore not necessarily of any relevance to actual Mycenaean cult buildings. Fresco fragments from the court and from Room 24 of the palace at Pylos also show shrines with tripartite facades.⁸⁹ The late date of these frescoes suggest that such shrines may have existed on the Mainland. None of the excavated examples of Mycenaean cult buildings can be restored with a tripartite facade. It can therefore be suggested that depictions of tripartite shrines in Mycenaean art represent an iconographical element taken over from Crete and as such can be considered conventional renderings of shrines and not realistic depictions. A fragmentary terracotta architectural model found in the Menelaion in a Late Helladic IIIA1 context could represent a sanctuary. It is, however, very uncertain whether the model represents an actual house type, is a shorthand version of a more complex building type, or is a conventional depiction of architecture which could represent any building.⁹⁰

Of considerable interest is a Mycenaean chariot krater which was found in a grave at Kalavassos on Cyprus.⁹¹ The Krater can be dated to LHIIIA2 and was most likely an import from Mainland Greece.⁹² A

⁸⁵ Konsolaki 1996, 73.

⁸⁶ Demakopoulou et al. 1994, 19-34; Demakopoulou 1996, 988-991.

⁸⁷ Chadwick 1985, 200.

⁸⁸ French 1981, 45; Evely 1992, 22; Hägg 1992, 30.

⁸⁹ Lang 1969, 139-140, Pls. 77, 78, 8A3, I 9A24.

⁹⁰ Catling 1989.

⁹¹ Steel 1994.

⁹² Steel 1994, 205.

similar scene is depicted on both sides of the vase. The scene shows a chariot group approaching a building. The building consists of a main room and an antechamber with the roof on a lower level. The roofs of both the main room and the antechamber are surmounted by horns of consecration. A woman is seated inside the main room. The horns of consecration identify the building as having a cultic function and the scene accordingly may be a schematic rendering of a cult building of the type which existed in Greece in the latter part of the Late Bronze Age.

To summarize, characteristic of all identified Mycenaean cult buildings is that they are not monumental structures i.e. they are not larger than contemporary dwelling houses. Based on the evidence at present available, Mycenaean cult buildings can tentatively be classified into four groups:

1. Room 93 at Pylos; Room xxiv at Mycenae (?). Small room, no interior installations, connected with platform (altar?) in courtyard.
2. Megaron at Mycenae. Large main room with central platform (hearth), anteroom.
3. West Shrine, East Shrine at Phylakopi; the cult building at Methana; Tsountas' House Shrine (?), Temple, Room with the Fresco Complex at Mycenae; Room 117, Room 110, Room 110a at Tiryns; Room XXXII in House G at Asine (?). Small size, platforms.

Possibly Room xxiv in the Cult Centre at Mycenae should be classified with Room 93 at Pylos. The ceremonies performed at the platforms (altars?) in the courtyard would in that case seem to be of a different nature, however, as no trace of burning was found on the platform at Pylos, as there was at Mycenae. The sanctuary in Room XXXII in House G at Asine is difficult to classify. The finds would suggest that it should be classified with group three; the reconstruction of the platform, however, makes this uncertain. It is also somewhat uncertain whether Tsountas' House Shrine should be considered as a separate group or as part of group three. It is comparable to the other cult buildings in that it has a platform against the wall and a central platform. It is difficult to say whether Room Gamma or Room Gamma 1 was the main cult room. No clay figures were recovered from the building, but very few finds were recovered at all. It is worth noting, however, that the female head (so-called Sphinx) found by Tsountas probably came from Room Gamma. It is possible that this head may have belonged to a figure similar to those found in the Temple and the Room with the Fresco Complex at Mycenae as well as at Phylakopi

and Tiryns. Although not exactly comparable to any of these, details can be compared, e.g. the markings on the cheeks and chin which are also seen on the "Lady of Phylakopi". On the other hand it differs in being made of plaster and not clay. It is also larger, being almost lifesize.

Since only group three contains several examples, only these structures can be said to belong to a certain type. Common architectural features are shared by all of the cult buildings belonging to this group. These features are non-monumentality, similar proportions, platforms against the wall at the opposite end from the entrance, in some cases additional platforms along the walls, central platform, posts supporting the roof. The cult focus can be identified with the platform situated against the short wall furthest from the entrance. Furthermore there is a lack of monumentality in the location of these cult buildings and none of them can be said to be located in a prominent position.

A typological connection between these sanctuaries is also indicated by the evidence of the finds from within the sanctuaries, in particular, the afore-mentioned clay figures which although differing in detail, can be said to belong to the same general type. Their find contexts were also analogous, indicating that they served the same function in each building. Portable offering tables were probably common cult equipment; one was found on the platform in the Temple at Mycenae and two possible fragments were found in the West Shrine at Phylakopi, one of which was associated with the north/west platform. The other finds from these structures are comparable although it is not really possible to speak of particular assemblages associated with these buildings. They consist both of specialised cult equipment, and items also found in non-cultic contexts (Table 5). Most of the objects found can probably be classified as votives. Varying amounts of pottery were found in all of these buildings.

The question of the origin of this type of cult building

Any discussion of the origin of this type of Mycenaean cult building must necessarily start with the earliest example known, namely the West Shrine at Phylakopi, and the newly-discovered cult building at Methana. That the Late Bronze Age sanctuary at Phylakopi is related to the earlier Temple at Ayia Irini on Keos whose history goes back into the Middle

Helladic period and that these cult buildings might represent a Cycladic tradition has been suggested by Renfrew.⁹³ Both the Temple at Ayia Irini and the Sanctuary at Phylakopi demonstrate the same practice of placing clay figures in a cultic setting, and that they belong to the same religious tradition seems very plausible (as will be argued in Chapter Seven). Renfrew further suggests, however, that the tradition of depositing cult figures in sanctuaries goes back to the Early Cycladic period, and that the EC II site of Dhaskaleio Kavos on Keros was such an Early Cycladic ritual area. Accordingly, the Early Cycladic marble figurines can be seen as functional predecessors of the clay figures found in the sanctuary at Phylakopi.⁹⁴ Although, this is an extremely interesting line of thought, religious continuity between the Early and Late Cycladic periods seems difficult to sustain. Any precise hypothesis of the function of the Early Cycladic figurines remains unprovable, but that they were in some way connected with the religious beliefs of the Early Cycladic period can hardly be doubted. Renfrew's suggestion that the very large figures were used as cult images within a ritual area and that the smaller figures were votives which could have been used in domestic cult as well as deposited in sanctuaries is very plausible.⁹⁵ It is therefore possible to argue that the Early Cycladic figurines had a similar function in cult to the figures from the Late Bronze Age sanctuary at Phylakopi. However, postulating continuity between the Early Cycladic marble figurines and the clay figures from the Temple at Ayia Irini and from the Sanctuary at Phylakopi is very difficult. The tradition of making marble figurines breaks off towards the end of the Early Cycladic period and Cycladic figurines from the Middle Bronze Age hardly occur. Furthermore, although the interpretation as a sanctuary may seem the most probable, the site at Dhaskaleio Kavos has been very disturbed by extensive looting, and the problems connected with its interpretation seem insurmountable, since evidence for stratigraphy has been destroyed and there were no architectural remains.⁹⁶

As the evidence stands, a Mainland origin for the Mycenaean cult buildings would seem preferable. It can perhaps be said that it seems more likely that a sanctuary type represented on palatial sites on the Mainland

⁹³ 1985, 435.

⁹⁴ 1984, 27-29; 1985, 435; 1991, 99; see also R. Barber (1984B) for the suggestion of ritual continuity between the Early Cycladic and Late Bronze Age figures.

⁹⁵ 1984, 27-29; 1991, 105; cf. R. Barber 1984B, 13-14.

⁹⁶ Cf. J. Davis 1984B, 16; Broodbank (1989, 326-327). Dickinson (1994A, 262, 297) accepts the likelihood of Dhaskaleio Kavos having been a common ritual centre for several island communities in the Cyclades. Getz-Preziosi 1982, argues that Dhaskaleio Kavos was a cemetery site.

would have been first developed in one of the major centres of the Mycenaean world rather than in the Cyclades. Several of the clay human figures found at Mycenae predate the construction of the Temple which suggests there may have been a similar sanctuary located elsewhere on the site in an earlier period.⁹⁷ It is also possible that the cult building at Methana is of earlier date than the West Shrine at Phylakopi since it may date to as early as LH IIIA1.⁹⁸

Perhaps the most telling indication of a Mainland origin of the Sanctuary at Phylakopi are the clay figures. Although, most of them are of local manufacture, they are clearly related to Mainland types and several had been imported from the Argolid. Most important among these is the "Lady of Phylakopi" who was found in Room A and is outstanding both in terms of size and quality of workmanship. This figure is thought by the excavator to have been the main cult statue at the time the sanctuary was built.⁹⁹ Stylistically she has been dated to LH IIIA2 and her fabric could be Argive.¹⁰⁰ The clay figures from within the sanctuary at Phylakopi are found in the same context as are those from the cult buildings at Mycenae and Tiryns which clearly indicates similarity of cult, and most likely that Mainland cult practices had been taken over at Phylakopi. A possible indication that the cult is an innovation which may have been imported is also given by the fact that there is no evidence for cult in the sanctuary area before the building of the West Shrine.¹⁰¹

Furthermore, Renfrew has remarked on the absence of Minoan religious symbolism such as double axes, snakes, and horns of consecration in the Sanctuary at Phylakopi.¹⁰² The evidence from Akrotiri strongly suggests that religious activities on Thera were essentially Minoan, or at least strongly Minoanised, in the LB I period.¹⁰³ Considering the Minoan character of the earlier settlement of Phylakopi III, this could also have been the case on Melos. Although, there is not much evidence for cult practices from earlier periods at Phylakopi, the pillar rooms may have been used for religious purposes as were pillar

⁹⁷ Taylour 1971, 268.

⁹⁸ Konsolaki 1995.

⁹⁹ Renfrew 1985, 372-373.

¹⁰⁰ French in Renfrew 1985, 215.

¹⁰¹ Renfrew 1981.

¹⁰² 1981, 28.

¹⁰³ N. Marinatos 1984; 1990.

crypts on Crete.¹⁰⁴ Consequently, there is fairly good reason to believe that the lack of important elements of Minoan religious symbolism in the LH III period indicates a change in the organisation of cult at Phylakopi which can be attributed to Mycenaean influence.¹⁰⁵ Snakes and horns of consecration occur at Mycenae, but not at Tiryns or at Methana. Most examples of horns of consecration found on the Mainland are representations, as in the Room with the Fresco at Mycenae, while the actual objects are rare which suggests that their significance may not have been the same as on Crete.¹⁰⁶ The double-axe occurs neither at Mycenae nor at Tiryns and is in general rare on the Mainland.¹⁰⁷

Other factors also support the theory of a Mainland origin of the sanctuary at Phylakopi. In the LH III period Mainland influences in the Cyclades become very strong. This can be seen, in particular, in the pottery where there is a total eclipse of local decorated pottery in favour of imported Mycenaean ware.¹⁰⁸ The Megaron at Phylakopi is clearly a sign of Mainland influence and possibly of Mycenaean administration of the island; the layout of the building bears a close resemblance to the palaces on the Mainland, particularly to the palace at Pylos. The central hearth and anta blocks are also Mycenaean features.¹⁰⁹ The Megaron at Phylakopi was constructed in LH IIIA, shortly before the building of the West Shrine.¹¹⁰

The socio-political significance of the Megaron at Phylakopi is not completely clear. Renfrew sees it as being of Mainland inspiration, but not necessarily indicating a Mycenaean presence.¹¹¹ It could have been built by a local chief wishing to enhance his stature by imitating Mainland palaces. However, the similarity between the Megaron at Phylakopi and the palaces on the Mainland may seem too close to be due to local imitation for reasons of prestige, and R. Barber, on the other hand, argues that it must indicate direct Mycenaean control at Phylakopi. He also points to

¹⁰⁴ Renfrew 1985, 374-376.

¹⁰⁵ R. Barber 1984A, 180.

¹⁰⁶ Hägg 1985A, 207; 1989, 80; Hood 1986.

¹⁰⁷ Mylonas 1977, 67-71; Hägg 1985, 207.

¹⁰⁸ According to R. Barber (1981, 1-21; 1987, 229), the LC III period sees a thoroughgoing transformation of Cycladic material culture which makes it practically indistinguishable from the culture of the Mainland. Schallin (1993), however, has demonstrated that evidence of a Mycenaean presence shows that the Cyclades were not as thoroughly Mycenaeanised as it has been customary to think, and that there are good indications of the continuation of local traditions in several areas.

¹⁰⁹ Schallin 1993, 170.

¹¹⁰ Renfrew 1985, 401; Barber 1987, 224, 232.

¹¹¹ Renfrew 1985, 436.

the fact that the Megaron is unique in the Cyclades and that if this fact is not merely due to archaeological accident, then perhaps it can be taken to signify that Phylakopi became the base for control of the Mycenaean province in the islands. Phylakopi III according to Renfrew's terminology, Phylakopi IIIii according to Barber's (LC II, LM IB) shows signs of destruction and burning, and it can therefore be argued that this was caused by the Mycenaeans in the course of a forcible takeover of Melos.¹¹² The intervening period between the destruction of Phylakopi III (Phylakopi IIIii) and the construction of the Megaron shows LH IIB influences.¹¹³ If Barber's theory regarding the significance of the Megaron at Phylakopi is valid, then, perhaps, it is not due to coincidence that a type of cult building which is arguably of Mainland origin has been found in the vicinity. The fact that two examples of buildings with a specialised function so far unique in the Cyclades have been found at Phylakopi can be taken as a significant argument for strong Mycenaean involvement and probably political control at Phylakopi and may seem to support Barber's views.¹¹⁴ Regarding the possible existence of a Mycenaean province of the islands, the geographical position of Melos is suited to its being chosen as the main administrative centre of the Cyclades. On the other hand, there is no evidence from any of the other islands of the Cyclades for direct Mycenaean political control. Schallin has argued that the fact that many of the Cycladic settlements were surrounded by fortification walls indicates a need for defence which would be unlikely if the Mycenaeans had complete political control over the islands.¹¹⁵ The geographical location of Melos also suggests that it may have been an important station on trade-routes between the Mainland and the east and this may have been the reason for the Mycenaeans being particularly interested in Melos.¹¹⁶ It is possible that if Mycenaean political control did exist, it was limited to Melos and did not extend over all of the Cycladic islands.

If the Megaron then is a sign of Mycenaean administrative presence, then it should be reasonable to see the sanctuary as also having some connection with Mycenaean administration. On the Mainland, the sanctuaries which can be compared to the West Shrine at Phylakopi have

¹¹² R. Barber 1981, 9.

¹¹³ R. Barber 1987, 261, fnnt 3.

¹¹⁴ Mycenaean influence is much stronger at Phylakopi than on any other Cycladic site in this period (Schallin 1993, 172-187).

¹¹⁵ 1993, 174-175.

¹¹⁶ Cf Schallin 1993, 170, 181-182.

been found on palatial sites suggesting that they represent official cult.¹¹⁷ The Linear B tablets from Pylos demonstrate palatial involvement in cult organisation in that they record offerings made by the palaces to various sanctuaries, and indicate that certain sanctuaries were dependent on the palaces. It can therefore be argued that there is a close connection between the Megaron and the sanctuary at Phylakopi.

The rounded stone or baetyl which has already been mentioned suggests the influence of Minoan rather than Mycenaean cult practices and indicates a Minoan element in the cult at Phylakopi. The baetyl is possibly then to be interpreted as the survival of certain Minoan elements in the cult practised at Phylakopi. This may be significant since perhaps it indicates that cult practices at Phylakopi may have differed to some extent from those of the Mainland and that accordingly the sanctuary at Phylakopi should be seen as built in imitation of Mainland models rather than being a sign of a Mycenaean administrative presence on Melos.¹¹⁸ It is possible that the occurrence of predominantly Mycenaean cult practices in the Cyclades should be interpreted in terms of acculturation, and that the clay figure, "the Lady of Phylakopi" may have been a prestige import.

In conclusion, it seems that a Mainland origin for the cult buildings represented at Methana, Mycenae, Tiryns, and Phylakopi can be assumed, but it is more uncertain whether the sanctuary at Phylakopi represents a Mycenaean presence and perhaps political control on Melos or a local Cycladic imitation of Mycenaean cult buildings.

Whether the Mycenaean cult buildings, represented by the two sanctuaries at Phylakopi, the cult building at Methana, the Temple, the Room with the Fresco Complex at Mycenae and the successive sanctuaries at Tiryns, are to be considered as a purely local Mycenaean development or as being derived from a foreign prototype has occasioned some discussion and both these possibilities will be discussed.

¹¹⁷ Official cult can be defined as the cult practices and beliefs of the ruling authority and elite (Hägg 1981A, 36; 1995). Hägg has suggested (1981A) that there are likely to have been significant differences between Mycenaean official and popular cult.

¹¹⁸ The Sanctuary at Phylakopi was interpreted by Renfrew as the adoption of Mainland cult practices rather than as the sign of a Mycenaean presence (1985, 436). See also Mee 1988, 303; Schallin 1993, 185-187.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE MYCENAEAN CULT BUILDINGS AND THE LM III SANCTUARIES ON CRETE

The most obvious source of foreign influences on the architectural form of the Mycenaean cult buildings is of course Crete, since Mycenaean culture in very many of its aspects, including it would seem religion, was greatly influenced by Minoan culture. It can therefore be assumed without too much difficulty that the Mycenaeans were open to Minoan influences and ready to accept them when they were compatible with or could be adapted to their own systems of thought. Conversely, the failure to make use of existing Cretan models can be taken as an indication either of the existence of a strong local tradition or of essential differences between certain aspects of Mycenaean and Minoan culture. That the Mycenaeans might owe something to Crete in the development of their sacred architecture is suggested by the iconographical evidence which shows that the Mycenaeans were influenced by Minoan prototypes in their depictions of religious structures.¹ The possibility of Cretan influences has been suggested by Renfrew, who remarks that "the extent to which the recently discovered shrines of the Mainland owe their architectural antecedents to the domestic shrines of the Cretan palaces and towns remains to be demonstrated."² Hayden also suggests that the construction of the Mycenaean cult buildings may be a result of Cretan influence.³ The question has not, however, been investigated systematically or in any detail.

It is generally accepted that Crete was under Mycenaean political control throughout the LM III period and the question of Minoan influences on Mycenaean religious architecture in the LH III period is accordingly complicated by the possibility that Mycenaean rule might have affected Minoan religion in significant ways, either directly by interference

¹ E.g. the gold foil representations of sanctuaries from the Shaft Graves and the depictions on gold rings found on the Mainland. Frescoes from the palaces at Pylos and Tiryns would also seem to be following a Minoan iconographical tradition (Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1996, 76-77, Pl.112, 127, 128).

² 1981, 32.

³ 1981, 153.

in religious life through the forceable imposition of Mycenaean religion on the Cretan population for political reasons, or more indirectly as a result of Mycenaean cultural forms becoming more widespread in the wake of Mycenaean rule. On the other hand, since there is a tendency for new regimes to make use of traditional ritual forms in order to enhance their own legitimacy and consolidate their power, it could also be hypothesised that a change in the political system on Crete from a Minoan to a Mycenaean administration might be characterised by continuity of official Minoan ritual forms.⁴

The question of Mycenaean control over Crete is closely associated with the problems concerning the date of the final destruction of the palace at Knossos and the date of the Linear B tablets. At the end of the LM IB period, there was widespread unrest on Crete which resulted in the destruction or abandonment of a number of settlements as well as the palaces at Phaistos, Ayia Triadha, Malia, and Kato Zakro. The cause of these destructions is still open to question. Although there was some destruction also at Knossos, the palace itself was not destroyed and continued to function.⁵ The standard view concerning the date of the final destruction of the palace at Knossos has been that it occurred at the beginning of the LM IIIA2 period.⁶ This date is based on the pottery found in the destruction levels. The LM IIIA2 destruction date has now been disputed for a number of years. Hallager and Niemeier have argued that although there was some destruction in the palace at Knossos in the LM IIIA period, the tablets are later in date and the major destruction of the palace took place near the end of the LM IIIB period.⁷ Warren, however, has convincingly argued that deposits of finds which were unquestionably part of the final destruction debris are to be dated to LM IIIA2.⁸ Furthermore Warren argues that a destruction date in LM IIIA2 is also suggested by the fact that the LM IIIB period is unlikely to represent the time of the Linear B tablets. Knossos in the LM IIIB period, compared with the LM II and the first part of the LM IIIA periods, appears to have been an impoverished settlement without evidence of important buildings, rich tombs, or foreign contacts. It is also significant that in the LM

⁴ Kertzer 1988, 42-43; Peatfield 1990, 130.

⁵ Warren 1989, 33.

⁶ Popham 1970, 85.

⁷ Hallager 1977; Niemeier 1982.

⁸ 1989.

IIIB period artistic influences originating at Knossos are no longer evident in the rest of Crete.⁹ Shelmerdine in a careful review of the textual and archaeological evidence concerning settlement activity in LM III provides good arguments for a LM IIIA2 destruction date.¹⁰

That Mycenaeans were in control at Knossos at the time of the final destruction has rarely been questioned since the decipherment of the Linear B tablets, and Crete in the LM III period is also often referred to as Mycenaean Crete. As has been pointed out by Hooker, however, the fact that the archives at Knossos were written in Greek at the time of the final destruction of the palace does not necessarily prove that the Mycenaeans were in control.¹¹ The similarities between the contents of the tablets at Pylos and Knossos, however, make a Mycenaean presence on Crete at the time of the destruction of the palace of Knossos a reasonable conclusion. Textual evidence suggests that there was a difference in the administration of the Cretan economy represented by the Linear A and Linear B tablets.¹² The occurrence of changes in the function of areas of the palace, notably in the West Wing some time before the final destruction which has been argued in detail by Hallager and also by Popham, suggests that Knossos was no longer functioning as a Minoan palatial centre at the time of its destruction.¹³ Mycenaean names also occur on the Knossos tablets presumably referring to Mycenaeans resident on Crete.¹⁴

The palace at Knossos was destroyed by fire, but before being burnt it seems to have been looted which probably indicates that it was deliberately destroyed and could suggest that there was a popular uprising against foreign rule and that the Mycenaean rulers were driven out of Crete at that time.¹⁵ Linear B tablets from Khania and stirrup jars inscribed with Linear B signs, however, show that Linear B was in use on Crete in the LM IIIB period.¹⁶ The continued use of Linear B must almost certainly reflect a continued Mycenaean administrative presence, controlling all or parts of Crete and indicates that the main administrative centre had been shifted elsewhere or that the form of administration had been

⁹ 1989, 36. See also MacDonald 1987.

¹⁰ 1992; see also Popham 1988.

¹¹ 1977, 77-79.

¹² Palaima 1987.

¹³ Hallager 1977; Popham 1987.

¹⁴ Ventris & Chadwick 1973, 203-205.

¹⁵ Cf. Kanta 1980, 320.

¹⁶ Hallager 1987; Hallager et al. 1990; 1992.

decentralised. It seems clear that an administrative centre existed at Khania.¹⁷ Palaikastro which was extensively resettled in the Post-palatial period, Ayia Triadha where monumental public structures were constructed in the LM III period, as well as Malia have also been suggested as administrative centres in this period.¹⁸ After the destruction of the palace at Knossos, Crete was, it seems, split up into a number of regional centres.¹⁹

When and how the Mycenaeans established themselves in Crete cannot be answered with complete certainty. It is possible that the destructions at the end of LM IB were caused by a Mycenaean invasion or that the Mycenaeans took advantage of the unstable situation in Crete in order to conquer the island, and that Mycenaean rulers were present at Knossos from the beginning of the LM II period. This is based on evidence such as apparent Mycenaean influences on LM II pottery, new types of weapons, and changes in burial practices including a Mycenaean tholos tomb near Knossos and the increased use of weapons as grave goods.²⁰ The strongest indication of a Mycenaean presence at Knossos after the LM IB destructions would seem to be the Warrior Graves; both in form and as regards the burial customs they have closer parallels on the Mainland than in Minoan burials of preceeding periods.²¹ As pointed out by Driessen, the Warrior Graves in the area of Knossos indicate a similar social stratification to the Argolid.²² Furthermore, Driessen has argued that the Linear B tablets from the Room of the Chariot Tablets should be dated to LM II.²³ Others have argued that LM II Knossos is still Minoan and that although there may have been Mycenaeans living on Crete in some numbers, they did not take over Knossos and the control of Crete until the end of the LM II or the beginning of the LM IIIA period. LM II pottery, for instance, can be seen as a direct development from LM IB pottery styles.²⁴ The importance of the Warrior Graves as indicators of a high level Mycenaean presence has also been minimised.

¹⁷ Hallager 1987, 183-184; 1988; Warren 1989.

¹⁸ MacGillivray & Driessen 1990, 406-407; Bennet 1987; La Rosa 1992; Farnoux & Driessen 1991, 93; 1995.

¹⁹ Cf. Driessen 1990, 128; Popham 1994, 90.

²⁰ Driessen 1990, 124-125; Dickinson 1996, 66; Popham 1988; 1994, 92-94.

²¹ Popham et al. 1974, 253-256.

²² 1990, 124-125.

²³ 1990, 112-114.

²⁴ Niemeier 1985.

Consequently, on the assumption that there was a Mycenaean administrative presence on Crete, probably from the beginning of the LM II period and at least from the beginning of the LM III period, the extent of a possible Mycenaean influence on Cretan cult needs to be examined and clarified as far as possible before one can take into account the question of Minoan prototypes for the Mycenaean cult buildings.²⁵

Questions concerning Mycenaean influence on Cretan cult are of particular interest since it has been convincingly argued that in the Neo-palatial period Crete was in effect a theocracy, that is to say politics and religion were closely intermixed and that the Cretan elite used religion in order to maintain itself in a position of power.²⁶ Religion can be used to sanction political power in various ways. The most developed form of the sacralisation of political power is the divinisation of the ruler whose authority is then legitimised by the supernatural powers he is believed to possess.²⁷ Although, on account of the lack of any coherent or easily recognisable ruler iconography, depictions of major political or historical events, as well as written texts, it is in fact impossible to know how Crete was governed, and the precise nature of the connection between religion and political power in Bronze Age Crete cannot be ascertained, nonetheless some general conclusions can be drawn.²⁸

It has been argued that in the palatial periods and most particularly in the Neo-palatial period, the Minoan palaces were the centres of organised ritual activity and contained many shrines.²⁹ A miniature fresco from Knossos shows ritual activity taking place in the open air, in the West Court of the palace.³⁰ Hood has, in fact, suggested that the Minoan palaces were temple-palaces and functioned both as centres of administration and the residences of human rulers, and as the homes of the gods

²⁵ That there were important Mycenaean influences on Minoan cult in the LM III period, has been suggested by Hägg (1985), Renfrew (1981, 1985), Hallager (1988).

²⁶ Platon 1983; Peatfield 1990; Dabney & Wright 1990; N. Marinatos 1995. The use of religious beliefs and ritual in order to legitimate political and social power has been well-recognised (see Wach 1944, 300-301; Webster 1976, 812-828; Ahern 1981, 77-78; Kertzer 1988; McGuire 1992, 29-31). According to Durkheim's well-known theory (1915), social cohesion is produced and maintained through ritual. When political power is linked to religious authority and the system of rule is upheld by reference to religious beliefs, social hierarchy can be expressed in religious terms, while the true source of power can be obscured. Webster maintains that religion is never the sole or primary basis of any political system, but rather is used as an additional support or as a ceremonial facade.

²⁷ Kertzer 1988, 52.

²⁸ See E. Davis (1995), Krattenmaker (1995), N. Marinatos (1995) for comments on the lack of ruler iconography in Minoan art. N. Marinatos suggests that the iconography of deities and rulers was interchangeable. For discussions on the nature of Minoan kingship see N. Marinatos (1984, 1995), Pelon (1995).

²⁹ Platon 1983; Pelon 1984; Gesell 1985, 1987; Hägg 1986, 1987; N. Marinatos 1987, 1993, 38-111.

³⁰ N. Marinatos 1987, 141-142.

and the location of ritual activity, a view which was also held by Evans.³¹ Hägg has argued that rituals of enacted epiphany involving a priestess impersonating the goddess took place within the palace at Knossos and other palatial buildings in the Knossian area.³² Such rituals clearly linking the ruler with supernatural forces would function as a powerful reinforcement of political authority.³³ The areas dedicated to cult in the first palaces show that religion played a political role also in the Proto-palatial period and probably that religious legitimation was important in the establishment of a palatial elite.

In the MM period, Peak Sanctuaries had functioned as community shrines serving the nearby settlements. Although the earliest Peak Sanctuaries antedate the rise of the palaces, it does not seem unlikely that Peak Sanctuaries and the rituals associated with them developed in response to the same social conditions which led to the establishment of the palaces. Peak Sanctuaries, however, seem to have existed independently of official cult for most of the Proto-palatial period. During the Proto-palatial period Peak Sanctuaries seem to have been the main popular communal sanctuaries on Crete. The animal figurines which are invariably a feature of Peak Sanctuary assemblages demonstrate that worship in the Peak Sanctuaries was concerned with agriculture and pastoralism, that is fundamentally with the survival of the community. As well the votive figurines representing worshippers indicate that the security and well-being of the individual was an important element of the cult.³⁴ During the course of the Neo-palatial period, when religious expression seems to have been deliberately centralised and more closely associated with the ruling power, the rituals which took place at Peak Sanctuaries apparently became to a great extent associated with the rituals of palatial cult.³⁵

Cult scenes taking place in the open air are quite often depicted on seals and gold rings, that is on prestige artefacts, demonstrating the importance of open air sanctuaries or Sacred Enclosures at an official level of cult in the Neo-palatial period. This is also indicated by the Sacred Enclosure at Kato Symi, which very clearly has palatial associations.³⁶

³¹ Hood 1995.

³² 1986.

³³ Cf. Kertzer 1988, 52.

³⁴ Peatfield 1994, 22-23.

³⁵ Peatfield 1990, 127-130; Krattenmaker 1995.

³⁶ Lebessi & Muhly 1990.

Some of the depictions of rituals on gold rings and seals depict the epiphany of a deity in a Sacred Enclosure. Caves which were considered sacred and were used for the ritual deposition of votives also indicate official involvement in the Neo-palatial period through the high quality of the finds from them.³⁷

Although it should be recognised as incomplete, the evidence suggests that rituals associated in particular with areas of the palaces, Peak Sanctuaries, Sacred Caves, and Sacred Enclosures were part of official cult and had political connotations. It is therefore very plausible that religious rituals played a large part in reinforcing the legitimacy of the ruling elite.

The lack of glorification of earthly power in official art on Crete, surprising when compared to its neighbours to the south and east, can quite conceivably be explained by the close connection between religion and political power. If the latter is seen as dependent on and legitimised by divine support, then religious worship becomes by implication support for the ruling power, a common uniform ritual language can be used to reinforce political authority, and religious art carries political meanings.³⁸

Continuity of cult between the Neo-palatial and Post-palatial periods

If indeed a close connection between political power and religion existed in Crete in the Neo-palatial period, the collapse of the Neo-palatial system of administration and the establishment of foreign rule at Knossos must have had a great impact on the religious life of the island in that previous cult patterns would have been broken. An idea of the ways in which Mycenaean rule might have affected Minoan cult practice should be apparent from a comparison between the evidence for cult in the LM I and LM III periods. In particular, by examining and establishing which factors indicate continuity and which demonstrate innovations.

³⁷ Rutkowski 1986, 47-71; Peatfield 1994, 26; Dickinson 1994A, 278.

³⁸ An interesting example of religious art alluding to historical events and thereby conveying political messages can be seen in the art of pre-conquest Hindu kingdoms. See von Stietencron 1977, 1985-1986. E. Davis (1995, 18-19) has commented that Minoan art appears to be unique in the Eastern Mediterranean in that it does not seem to have a propaganda value and serve the interests of the ruling elite. From a more cross-cultural perspective, however, examples can be found which show that earthly power can be glorified through apparently timeless religious art. Patton (1996, 88-138, following J. Evans 1973) has argued that island societies often show tendencies towards the particular elaboration of ritual life and that the control of the elite is based on control of sacred knowledge and ritual practice. Wealth and power will then often be manifested in the area of religion and consequently religious art may carry a double meaning, alluding to the power of the ruling elite as well as to the supernatural and religious ritual.

Lustral Basins and Pillar Crypts are found in LM I but not in LM III.³⁹ Neither Lustral Basins nor Pillar Crypts seems to have been very widespread; they are found essentially in palaces, villas, and larger houses. They seem specifically to be connected with the religious activities of the elite and therefore no longer occur after the breakdown of Neo-palatial rule when the social structure of Crete changes. Their function is largely unknown and it has in fact been debated whether they actually were cult areas.⁴⁰

The evidence for other types of cult places is more difficult to evaluate. A type of shrine for which there is not much archaeological evidence but which is likely to have been quite widespread is the spring sanctuary. Examples occur in both LM I and LM III. The importance of water in Minoan cult can be observed in other connections.⁴¹ Open air sanctuaries of various kinds may also have been widespread and of considerable importance at all levels of Minoan cult and quite probably continued in use. The sanctuary at Kato Symi may have been unique in the Neo-palatial period in its monumentality and palatial associations, but it seems not unlikely that its development can be seen as the elaboration of a much more simple type of popular open air sanctuaries. The continued use of cult places which can be termed nature sanctuaries may be mainly the survival of simple popular forms of cult which remain unaffected by political changes. Several caves which had been used as cult places in the Neo-palatial period continue in use also indicating continuity of cult place.⁴²

Peak Sanctuaries represent a type of cult place which has gone out of use in the Post-palatial period. The collapse of Neo-palatial official cult did not lead to a general revival of Peak Sanctuaries as communal cult places. This is not surprising. When Peak Sanctuaries in the course of the Neo-palatial period increasingly became part of the cultic apparatus of the palaces, this must have involved considerable changes in the nature of the cult by shifting the focus away from divine protection of flocks and agriculture to providing ideological support for the prevailing political conditions. In the end the process of centralisation and institutionalisation quite likely destroyed the popular base of the Peak Sanctuary cult

³⁹ Gesell 1985, 41.

⁴⁰ Cf. Peatfield 1995, 224; McEnroe 1982, 5.

⁴¹ Cf. Peatfield 1995.

⁴² Faure 1967, 133-138; cf. Peatfield 1994, 26, 32.

leading to its demise with the end of Minoan rule at Knossos.⁴³ As well, conditions of life had changed and the social structure was very different in the LM III period from what it had been in the EM III/MM I period when the Peak Sanctuaries first evolved. During the course of the Neo-palatial period, there was a process of economic centralisation, and in the LM III period, as indicated by the Linear B tablets, agriculture and sheep-raising had become to a very large extent centralised and controlled by the palace administration and was therefore no longer a matter of immediate popular concern.

Of great importance, however, regarding the question of continuity of religious expression from the LM I to the LM III periods is the Peak Sanctuary at Iouktas (Fig. 54) which had been a major centre for a centralised palatial cult in the LM I period. The close connection between the Peak Sanctuary at Iouktas and the palatial cult in the palace at Knossos is evident from the beginning of the Neo-palatial period. The palatial involvement in the cult at Iouktas is clearly manifested by the incomparable richness of the finds.⁴⁴ It is most obviously evidenced in the sealing from the Tripartite Shrine in the West Wing at Knossos which shows a female figure holding a staff or sceptre (plausibly to be identified as a goddess) standing on a mountain top, flanked by heraldic lions. Behind her is a building crowned with horns of consecration, either a sanctuary or the palace, and in front of her stands a male worshipper. The female figure seems to be handing over the staff of authority to the worshipper who can consequently be identified as the ruler.⁴⁵ The mountain shown on the sealing is doubtless to be identified with Iouktas. Furthermore, the Peak Sanctuary at Iouktas and the Palace of Knossos were linked by the presence of monumental horns of consecration at both sites.⁴⁶ By the end of the Neo-palatial period, the Peak Sanctuary at Iouktas is apparently the only Peak Sanctuary on Crete still in use.⁴⁷ Fragments of Palace Style jars found at Iouktas testify to the continuing connection between palace and

⁴³ Peatfield 1990, 131.

⁴⁴ Karetsou 1981, 137-153; lecture at the American School of Classical Studies in Athens 25/ii/92.

⁴⁵ N. Marinatos (1995, 46) identifies the building on the sealing as the palace because it is multi-storied and because it is not located on the mountain. She interprets the scene as showing the ruler having a vision of the goddess from whom he probably derives his authority. Krattenmaker (1995, 54) would also identify the building as palatial on account of the columns which seem to be an iconographical sign for a palatial structure. Pelon (1995) would connect the scene shown on the sealing with an oriental concept of kingship in which the king is presented with his power by the deity.

⁴⁶ D' Agatha 1992, 249.

⁴⁷ Peatfield 1990, 131.

sanctuary during the LM II period as do luxury offerings such as seals.⁴⁸ At Iouktas there is evidence for continued cult practice throughout the LM III period and the amounts of LM IIIA and IIIB pottery found at Iouktas clearly demonstrate that the cult continued without a break into the LM III period. The cult structures dating to the LM I period also continued in use.⁴⁹ If the Mycenaeans were at Knossos already from LM II, it would seem that the cult place at Iouktas still retains a palatial connection after the Mycenaeans establish themselves at Knossos which could indicate that the Mycenaean rulers continued to some extent the official ritual forms of Neo-Palatial Crete. There is nothing, however, in the finds from the LM III period that positively demonstrates the continuing existence of official cult at Iouktas.

That the nature of the cult at Iouktas had changed in the LM III period is suggested by the character of the finds which have affinities with those from other types of LM III sanctuaries. Some of the animal figurines can be compared to those from Piazzale dei Sacelli at Ayia Triadha.⁵⁰ Of particular significance are the fragments of at least three Goddesses with Upraised Arms, since they indicate a connection to a type of LM III sanctuary which is quite widespread.⁵¹ It is also of significance that votive limbs, which in the earlier periods had been peculiar to Peak Sanctuaries, no longer occur. It seems arguable that Iouktas represents continuity of cult-place, not continuity of cult-form. The continuation of cult at the Peak Sanctuary on Iouktas after the destruction of the palace at Knossos can then plausibly be interpreted as a re-emergence of popular cult, existing independently of the prevailing official cult practised at the other administrative centres of LM III Crete.⁵²

Also important for the question of religious continuity between the LM I and LM III periods is the open air sanctuary at Kato Symi, which has plausibly been interpreted as a Sacred Enclosure or a spring sanctuary on account of its location close to a mountain source.⁵³ The monumentality of the layout of the sanctuary at Kato Symi reflects the existence of an elaborate cult organisation which can certainly be connected to palatial

⁴⁸ Karetsou 1975, 339; 1976.

⁴⁹ Karetsou 1975, 342.

⁵⁰ Karetsou 1975, 339. These are large wheelmade animal statues.

⁵¹ Karetsou 1975, 339.

⁵² That major religious centres can survive as local shrines when the central administrative organisation collapses is argued by Renfrew (1981, 29).

⁵³ Lebessi & Muhly 1990, 315.

cult. A palatial connection is also reflected by the richness of the finds which include bronze figurines and large quantities of stone vases and libation tables.⁵⁴ Prestige objects of LM II date have been found at Kato Symi.⁵⁵ These indicate as at Iouktas that if Mycenaeans were already established at Knossos they were continuing the ritual forms of the Neo-palatial ruling elite. There is continuity of cult at Kato Symi throughout the LM III period.⁵⁶ The finds from the Neo-palatial period demonstrate variations in quality and size, plausibly reflecting the economic and social status of the worshippers.⁵⁷ This may indicate that in addition to being associated with official palatial cult, the sanctuary was also important as a popular and perhaps mainly local sanctuary and continued as such after the destruction of the palace at Knossos. A new development in the Post-palatial period is the occurrence of large hollow wheelmade animal clay figures; these have been found in some quantities at Kato Symi.

Sanctuaries dedicated to the Goddess with the Upraised Arms

The most characteristic type of sanctuary found in LM III Crete are those dedicated to the Goddess with the Upraised Arms, both on account of the fact that they are the most important numerically and have been found throughout Crete, and more particularly because they seemingly represent an innovation in Cretan cult at this time. These shrines are characterised by the occurrence of large figures with upraised arms which are generally identified as goddesses. A fair number of this type of shrine have now been identified dating to the LM IIIB and IIIC periods. Sanctuaries dedicated to the Goddess with the Upraised Arms have been identified at Gazi (Catalogue B 2), Gournia (Catalogue B 3), Kannia (Catalogue B 4), Karphi (Room 1, Room 16-17, Room 116) (Catalogue B 5A, B, D), Kavousi (Catalogue B 7), and in the palace at Knossos (Shrine of the Double Axes) (Catalogue B 9A).⁵⁸ Deposits containing goddess figures have been found in the Unexplored Mansion at Knossos (Catalogue B

⁵⁴ Lebessi & Muhly 1990, 323-324.

⁵⁵ Lebessi & Muhly 1990, 336; MacDonald 1987, 293.

⁵⁶ Lebessi & Muhly 1990.

⁵⁷ Lebessi & Muhly 1990, 335.

⁵⁸ Alexiou 1958; Gesell 1985, see catalogue for individual sites; Gesell et al. 1988, 279-301; N. Marinatos 1993, 222-225; Peatfield 1994.

9B), and at Prinias (Catalogue B 12).⁵⁹ A fragment of a goddess figure was found in a LM IIIB dump on the hilltop at Kommos.⁶⁰ Two goddess figures were found in tombs in the Mavro Spelio cemetery at Knossos.⁶¹ As well two goddess figures, unconnected with any architecture or deposit come from Sakhtouria⁶² and Pankalokhori,⁶³ and as mentioned above, fragments were also found at Iouktas. A fragment of a head found in an LM IIIB rubbish pit at Khania may also have belonged to a figure of the Goddess with the Upraised Arms. It can be compared to the figures of the Goddess with the Upraised Arms from the Shrine of the Double Axes at Knossos and from Pankalokhori. On the other hand it can also be compared to a figure found in the neighbourhood of Myrsini in East Crete. This figure, unfortunately without a context, more likely represents a votary rather than a goddess on account of the position of the hands which are clasped to the breast in a manner resembling that of votary figurines from earlier periods as well as two figures from the Shrine of the Double Axes.⁶⁴ As will be maintained below, the sanctuaries in Building H at Ayia Triadha (Catalogue B 1), at Katsamba (Catalogue B 6), at Kephala Khondrou (Catalogue B 8), in Room 58 at Karphi (Catalogue B 5C), at Koumasa (Catalogue B 11), and possibly in the House with the Snake Tube at Kommos (Catalogue B 10), should probably also be included in this group, even if no goddess figures were found within these shrines. Cult objects, specifically snake tubes, which can be associated with the Goddess with the Upraised Arms were, however, found in them.⁶⁵ It would seem then that the occurrence of sanctuaries dedicated to the Goddess with the Upraised Arms indicates clearly the existence of a common religious pattern on Crete in the Post-palatial period.⁶⁶

⁵⁹ A small lead female figurine with upraised arms found in the South/West Pillar Crypt of the Little Palace at Knossos possibly indicates a shrine in the upper room in the LM IIIB period (Gesell 1985, 94).

⁶⁰ M. Shaw 1996, 240, 298-299.

⁶¹ Forsdyke 1926-1927, 291.

⁶² Tzedakis 1967.

⁶³ Alexiou 1958, 187-188.

⁶⁴ Tzedakis & Hallager 1983, 7-8; Hallager et al. 1992, 81; J. & E. Sakellerakis 1973, 122-126.

⁶⁵ Georgoulaki (1990) comments that apart from the snake tube, there were no other indications of cult in the House with the Snake Tube at Kommos and at Katsamba and suggests therefore that snake tubes were not necessarily cultic in function but could also be used for domestic purposes, and argues that the snake tubes found in a building at Koumasa does not necessarily prove that it was a sanctuary. At Ayia Triadha, snake tubes were also found in houses where there were no other indications of cult as well as in the cemetery (Banti 1941-1943, 35-36). The well-documented association between the Goddess with the Upraised Arms and snake tubes, however, does strongly indicate that snake tubes had a specialised cultic function.

⁶⁶ Cf. Peatfield 1994, 31.

It has been suggested by Renfrew that the sanctuaries dedicated to the Goddess with the Upraised Arms developed as a result of the Mycenaean occupation of Crete.⁶⁷ Renfrew does not develop this idea to any extent, but suggests that the goddess figure herself as well as the custom of setting up separate shrines in her honour indicates the acceptance of fundamentally Mycenaean cult practices. Since these shrines only start to appear after the establishment of the Mycenaeans on Crete this is certainly a possibility of some interest which is worth closer investigation.

An analysis of the identified sanctuaries reveals that no particular architectural form can be associated with the Sanctuaries dedicated to the Goddess with the Upraised Arms. Free-standing buildings occur as well as rooms within larger building complexes (Table 15). This distinction, however, does not seem to have been of any major functional significance. Of greater importance would seem to have been the ease of access from the outside.⁶⁸ Shrines situated in separate buildings can be considered by definition public sanctuaries, and some at least of the shrines situated within a larger building are also likely to have been so. The sanctuaries at Gournia and Ayia Triadha are separate buildings as are Room 1 at Karphi and Building G at Kavousi. At Gazi, the sanctuary is a roughly square room which is part of a larger building the extent of which was not determined.⁶⁹ At Karphi, goddesses were found in three localities. Room 16-17 is an open court lying next to the so-called Great House but having no direct communication with it and communicating with the outside rather than the rest of the building. Room 116 is part of a larger complex thought by the excavator to have been a general storage area. It is entered from the street outside. Fragments of goddess figures were also found in rooms 79 and 89 of the same complex. Room 58 was also entered from the street and did not communicate with the rest of the building. At Katsamba, the sanctuary is situated in a triangular-shaped annex to a LM IIIB house. It is entered from the outside and has no direct communication with the house itself. In the villa at Kannia, five rooms were identified as cult rooms, four of which contained goddess figures or fragments thereof. These rooms were interconnecting and situated in the eastern part of the villa; there is no internal connection between the sanctuary rooms and the rest of the villa. Room I was possibly the main sanctuary

⁶⁷ 1981, 32; 1985, 436-437; Hallager (1988) agrees with Renfrew.

⁶⁸ Cf. N. Marinatos 1993, 222.

⁶⁹ S. Marinatos 1937.

room. Its entrance cannot be determined with certainty, but the room could have been entered directly from outside. These sanctuaries are therefore more likely public shrines rather than private domestic ones. The Shrine of the Double Axes was situated within the Palace of Knossos, in the East Wing, but it is not possible to relate the sanctuary either to the remains of the palace or to the LM IIIB town of Knossos. Popham has suggested, however, that the partial reoccupation of the palace at Knossos after its destruction was associated with the Shrine of the Double Axes.⁷⁰ The sanctuary at Koumasa lay within a building consisting of many rooms. There is no information in the original publication regarding the location of the entrance. At Kommos, alterations in the plan of the House with the Snake Tube in LM IIIA2 and LM IIIB could suggest a change in the function of the house and that it may have become a public building with a shrine. On the other hand, the finds from Rooms 2 and 3/13 suggest a continuation of domestic activities. Although a large amount of cooking-ware was found within Room 4, there was no evidence for any fireplace and it was suggested that the pots were kept in the room for storage and that Room 4 was used primarily as a place where various kinds of household utensils were kept. The snake tube was the only object found in the house with a clear ritual connection, and it could certainly be suggested that it also had been stored in the room and that it belonged to or was intended for a shrine located elsewhere in the settlement. This was seen as a less likely possibility in the final publication of the house as the tube had been filled with sand which added to its weight and suggested that it was found in the spot where it was used.⁷¹ Room 4 in the House with the Snake Tube is unusual with respect to the other sanctuaries identified as dedicated to the Goddess with Upraised Arms since apparently it was not used exclusively for cult activity. Some doubt should be retained regarding the cult use of Room 4.⁷² The afore-mentioned fragment of a goddess figure with upraised arms and the snake tube are indicative of at least one sanctuary dedicated to the Goddess with Upraised Arms at Kommos.

In other cases such as in the Unexplored Mansion the sanctuary seems to have been situated in a second storey; since the function of the building in the LM III period is not known, it is possible that the building

⁷⁰ 1970, 85; 1994, 97; Warren 1989, 36.

⁷¹ McEnroe 1996, 226-229.

⁷² Cf. J. Shaw 1996, 289.

as a whole may have had some cultic function or at least some public use. It is also possible that the upper floor with the sanctuary had a separate entrance.⁷³ Although complete certainty is not possible, it is arguable that the sanctuaries dedicated to the Goddess with the Upraised Arms were all public community sanctuaries, rather than private domestic shrines.⁷⁴

These sanctuaries are in the main situated within settlements.⁷⁵ The sanctuary at Kannia might seem to present an anomaly in that it is located in what appears to be an isolated villa. On the other hand, sherd material found in the vicinity suggests there may have been a LM III settlement close by.⁷⁶ Very little has been published regarding the settlement at Koumasa and it is therefore not completely certain whether a settlement still existed in the LM III period.

Characteristic of all of these sanctuaries is their small size. Usually, although not invariably, there is a platform on which the goddess figures and cult equipment were placed. The placement of the platform varies, sometimes being adjacent to the entrance, while in other cases it is situated against the opposite wall.

Architecturally, there are no obvious similarities between these sanctuaries and the Mycenaean cult buildings and they seem rather to reflect native Cretan traditions. Small rooms used as shrines had been a feature of Minoan religion since the EM II period. The earliest known Minoan sanctuary is at Myrtos (Fig. 55; Rooms 90-92); the sanctuary consisted of a main sanctuary room and two subsidiary rooms.⁷⁷ Although the sanctuary rooms were part of a large building complex, the entrance had been from the court outside and not from the interior of the building, indicating its public nature. Separate sanctuary buildings are not common in Minoan religion before LM III, but it seems that they did exist and the idea cannot reasonably be seen to derive from Mycenaean practice.⁷⁸ The

⁷³ Popham et al. 1984, 263.

⁷⁴ Gesell 1981, 93; cf Hood 1977. Regarding the Neo-palatial period, McEnroe writes that he thinks the importance of the Household Shrine overemphasised (1979, 218). I agree and believe that this is true for Minoan religion in general. Minoan religious practice is likely to have been mainly communal in character and the domestic and private aspects of cult not important. Very few identified cult areas can be shown to be purely domestic.

⁷⁵ Cf. Peatfield 1994, 32.

⁷⁶ Kanta 1980, 91.

⁷⁷ Warren 1972, 83-87.

⁷⁸ E.g., The MM II Sanctuary (Gesell 1985, Cat. 76) and the Middle Minoan Sanctuary of the Horns at Malia (Gesell 1985, Cat. 77); the sanctuary at Rousses Viannou (MM IIIB-LM IA) (Gesell 1985, Cat. 122). Although the sanctuaries at Malia have little in common with the LM III sanctuaries, they do indicate that the concept of freestanding, public shrines existed before the LM III period. See, however, McEnroe who remarks that since nothing was found in the Sanctuary of the Horns, its designation as a cult building is open to question. Its religious function would seem assured, however, by the single horns which resemble halves of horns of consecration. See also P. Muhly (1984, 116, 118-120) who

sanctuary at Rousses Viannou which dates to MM IIIB to LM IA was a separate building and consisted of two cult rooms with three annexes, probably storerooms. In the building were found about thirty pithoi and a large number of other vessels. This arrangement is closely analogous to that at Kannia.

The Cretan sanctuary from LM III that can most closely be compared to the Mainland architectural tradition is Building H at Ayia Triadha which is considered by Hayden to be basically Mycenaean in plan and thereby possibly indicating a similarity in cult between Crete and the Mainland in LM III/LH III.⁷⁹ Building H is a rectangular building consisting of a main room and an anteroom separated by a pier-and-door partition and has been restored as approximating to the plan of the canonical megaron with one column in antis;⁸⁰ the position of the entrance from the outside into the anteroom, however, is not certain. It may however, show Mycenaean influence in the construction of the threshold in the pier-and-door partition.⁸¹ In any case, whatever the exact restoration of the building, Mycenaean influences on the architecture cannot be taken by itself to signify Mycenaean influences on the cult since Mycenaean architectural influences may have been fairly widespread on Crete in LM III. Most Cretan houses for which a Mycenaean plan has been suggested are not however sufficiently similar to Mainland prototypes to make the question of influence clear; this indicates that they were not built and inhabited by Mycenaeans but rather that Cretans were perhaps aware of and made use of Mycenaean architectural concepts.⁸² In fact, Building H should also be seen as conforming to Minoan architectural tradition in its use of the pier-and-door partition which shows continuity with cult areas of earlier periods. Palyvou has discussed the function of the polythyron or pier-and-door partition in Minoan architecture and has shown that in addition to providing light and ventilation and its most common use in the Minoan hall system, it was also used in order to control circulation

points out that it is uncertain whether the MM II Sanctuary at Malia was a separate building or part of a larger building complex and moreover argues that the structure should rather be identified as a kitchen. Sanctuaries which are separate buildings are depicted on seals and gold rings.

⁷⁹ 1981, 153.

⁸⁰ Banti 1941-1943, 29-31.

⁸¹ These are solidly wedged, a Mycenaean technique according to Hayden (1981, 54-55). Building H had two main phases and there has been some discussion concerning the date of the original construction. It seems, however, that it should be considered certainly LM III in date (La Rosa 1985, 128-129; 1992, 619; McEnroe 1979, 267-268; Hayden 1981, 70, fnnt 138).

⁸² Kanta 1980, 314-315; Hayden 1990.

within a building, and in connection with Lustral Basins.⁸³ It has further been argued by Marinatos and Hägg that the Minoan polythyron had a ceremonial function and often occurs in connection with cult areas in the palaces and other official buildings.⁸⁴ The use, however, of the pier-and-door partition in Building H does not conform to earlier practice and it could be suggested that the occurrence of the pier-and-door partition in combination with what is perhaps a basically Mycenaean plan is due to its being a recognised element of religious architecture but one which has lost its original ritual function.

Furthermore, it seems that the architectural character of Minoan sanctuaries is different from those on the Mainland. The Mycenaean sanctuaries are clearly directional and there is a progression from the entrance to the focus-of-attention. The Minoan sanctuaries, on the other hand, are non-directional in concept as there is no definite focus-of-attention. Although there is a platform in most of the Minoan sanctuaries, it does not seem to have had the function of focus-of-attention, but was rather a shelf for votive offerings and cult equipment. The position of the platform within the room seems to be of no significance and could be adjacent to the entrance; at times there are several platforms. This difference corresponds to the different principles of Mainland and Cretan architecture. In contrast to Mainland architecture where there is a very clear emphasis on one main axis of a building, in Minoan architecture no one axis is emphasised.

Nor is there any indication in the cult equipment connected with these sanctuaries that suggests innovations due to the presence of Mycenaeans on Crete. On the whole, the material from the LM III sanctuaries dedicated to the Goddess with the Upraised Arms is quite varied. The most characteristic type of cult equipment found in these sanctuaries is the snake tube. This was undoubtedly a cult vessel and, as shown by the one found *in situ* at Kommos which supported a conical cup, was used as a stand.⁸⁵ It is likely that the canonical snake tube was a LM III development.⁸⁶ Forerunners can, however, be seen in the cylindrical vessels found in the LM I shrines at Pyrgos Myrtos,⁸⁷ at Kato Symi,⁸⁸ and at

⁸³ 1987.

⁸⁴ 1986.

⁸⁵ J. Shaw 1977, 227-228, Plate 54C.

⁸⁶ Gesell 1976, 235.

⁸⁷ Cadogan 1981, 169-171.

⁸⁸ Gesell 1976, 254.

Mochlos.⁸⁹ Clay tubes with attached cups from a house near the palace at Knossos are surely also to be seen as an earlier form of the LM III snake tube.⁹⁰ As well, there may be a connection to the fruitstands found in Proto-palatial shrines.⁹¹ The attached plastic snakes, as well as in some cases, birds, and horns of consecration can be seen as an example of the decorative use of cult symbols on cult equipment characteristic of the Post-palatial period. Gesell has noted that birds, snakes, double axes, horns of consecration which were standard Minoan cult symbols in the palatial period are much rarer as independent objects in the Post-palatial period. Rather they are used as pottery decoration or as attachments to other cult objects. The continued use of these sacred symbols, however, probably demonstrates their continuing vitality and suggests continuity also in religious beliefs.⁹² In spite of certain similarities both in appearance and function with Near Eastern vessels such as, the ones found in the temples at Beth Shan, and at Tell Qasile (see Catalogue C 4), it seems probable that the snake tube is a purely Cretan development.⁹³

Snake tubes have been found in conjunction with goddess figures at Gazi, Gournia, Kannia, Room 16-17 at Karphi, Kavousi, and Prinias. Only the Shrine of the Double Axes at Knossos, the sanctuaries at Iouktas and in Room 1 and Room 116 at Karphi did not contain snake tubes (Table 15). In other sanctuaries snake tubes have been found but no goddess figures.⁹⁴ It is therefore not unreasonable to conclude that those sanctuaries which contained snake tubes but no goddess figures were also dedicated to the Goddess with the Upraised Arms.⁹⁵ In Building H at Ayia Triadha seven snake tubes were found and although there were no goddess figures from the sanctuary itself, fragments were recovered from

⁸⁹ Soles & Davaras 1994, 425.

⁹⁰ Evans 1930, 140-149.

⁹¹ Gesell 1985, 63.

⁹² 1985, 53.

⁹³ An indigenous Cretan origin is argued for the snake tubes by Gesell (1976). See Rowe (1940, Pl. XIV, XV, XVI) for illustrations of the stands from the temple area at Beth Shan. The terracotta stands from Beth Shan resemble the Cretan snake tubes in having plastic snakes on the outside of the vessel and birds on the handles. They differ in that on the Beth Shan examples, the snakes are much more realistically rendered and are not used as handles. Moreover, the stands are fenestrated. Similar stands have a long history of use in Palestine, going back to the Early Bronze Age as is evidenced by an example from Mizpah (Tell en-Nasbeh). It is smaller than the examples from the Late Bronze Age but like them it is fenestrated on four sides. A larger example from the Early Bronze Age in stone was found at Megiddo (both are on display in the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem). Although the Palestinian stands have been called incense-burners, they were used as stands for bowls used to serve ritual meals to deities (Mazar 1980, 95-100). A fenestrated stand with a separate bowl from Middle Bronze Age Shiloh is on display in the Israel Museum.

⁹⁴ Kommos, Ayia Triadha, Katsamba, Kephala Khondrou, Koumasa, Karphi (Room 58).

⁹⁵ Gesell 1985, 51.

other parts of the site.⁹⁶ Architecturally and as well as in regards to the other types of cult equipment found, the sanctuaries with snake tubes are comparable to those dedicated to the Goddess with the Upraised Arms. No snake tubes or vessels of a similar type have been found in cult areas on the Mainland.

Figurines, both male and female, occur fairly often in association with these sanctuaries and are most likely to be interpreted as representing votaries. Male figurines are rarer, but have been found in the Shrine with the Double Axes, and associated with the goddess figure from the Unexplored Mansion at Knossos, and in Rooms I and III of the villa at Kannia.⁹⁷

Considering the other types of finds from the sanctuaries, a large number of them contained offering tables, both terracotta and stone, either fixed or portable; parallels for all of these can be found in earlier periods.⁹⁸ With the exception of Gournia, where no pottery at all was found, varying amounts of pottery was found in all of these sanctuaries.⁹⁹ The pottery consisted both of specifically cult vessels such as incense-burners, and miniature vases, probably votive offerings, and of domestic pottery. There is nothing that can be directly related to Mycenaean cult practice.

With regard to the goddess figure herself, as previously mentioned, Renfrew is of the opinion that although the origin of the type is ultimately of Cretan inspiration, her introduction to Crete in the LM III period is very likely due to religious influences from the Mainland.

Most of the sanctuaries dedicated to the Goddess with the Upraised Arms contained several goddess figures. Five were found at Gazi, at least six at Kannia, five whole in Room 1, fragments of several others in Room 16-17 and Room 116 at Karphi, at least five at Prinias, probably three in all at Gournia, while at Kavousi there were at least seventeen and probably more. In the Shrine of the Double Axes as well as in the Unexplored Mansion, only one figure was found. The figures are conventionally considered to represent goddesses. Although the relatively large number of

⁹⁶ Banti 1941-1943, 52; Gesell 1985, 42.

⁹⁷ It is not completely certain that the figurines from Kannia are LM III in date, but it seems likely (Gesell 1985, 49).

⁹⁸ Gesell 1985, 144.

⁹⁹ At Kannia, apart from a LM IIIB stirrup jar, the pottery was LM I in date (Gesell 1985, 77-79; Levi 1959, 250). Some of it was cultic in character suggesting that the villa may have functioned as a shrine also in LM I. The pithoi, although LM I in date, could have continued in use also in LM III. Cf. Kanta (1983, 159) on the long life of pithoi, both in ancient and modern times.

figures found in some of these sanctuaries could suggest that they are votaries, there seems little reason to doubt that they do indeed represent deities. This is made clear from the attributes of birds and snakes associated with some of the figures. Both birds and snakes are standard Minoan cult symbols associated with divinity, which can be traced back to the Early Minoan period.¹⁰⁰ Several of the figures from Gazi have birds placed on the head as does the figure from the Shrine of the Double Axes at Knossos. The figure from Gournia, the ones from Kannia have snakes, and there were probably snakes on the figure from Prinias. In some cases, the attributes may be missing as in one of the figures from Karphi (11041) which has an attachment-hole on the head. Birds and snakes are often taken to symbolise the celestial and chthonic aspects of the goddess. Usually birds and snakes do not appear together on the same figure and it has been suggested that they may be the attributes of different goddesses. The figure from Kannia (15116), however, which has snakes on her arm and head as well as a bird attached to her head, shows that this cannot be the case, and that it is futile to try to distinguish between various deities on the basis of attributes.¹⁰¹ It seems more reasonable to suppose that birds and snakes symbolise the supernatural in a more general sense; birds and snakes have in common the characteristic that they can disappear into spheres where humans cannot follow them. They are therefore naturally seen as having a special connection with divinity and can often be regarded as divine messengers. Possibly they symbolise the epiphany of the goddess. It has also been suggested that the goddess herself can appear in the form of a bird or a snake;¹⁰² whether this was the case cannot be answered with any certainty, but it would seem more likely that birds or snakes were symbols of divinity rather than manifestations of a deity.¹⁰³ Their presence in cultic contexts symbolises a link between this world and the supernatural world. The representation of birds or snakes on cult equipment indicates that it belongs to the deity.

The most characteristic feature of the goddess figures is the gesture of the upraised arms. There is some variation in the positioning of the arms and hands, but there is no doubt that the same pose is represented on all of them. The symbolic meaning of the gesture is not quite clear.

¹⁰⁰ Branigan 1969, 28-30; N. Marinatos 1993, 227.

¹⁰¹ Cf. N. Marinatos 1993, 227.

¹⁰² Matz 1958, 17-18; Nilsson 1950, 330-340.

¹⁰³ Cf. Hägg 1981, 41-42.

The gesture of upraised arms is quite widely found in the Near East in the Bronze Age, both as a sign of divinity and of adoration.¹⁰⁴ That it is, in the Minoan context, primarily a gesture of worship can probably be ruled out. A large number of figurines have been found, mostly from Peak Sanctuaries, representing votaries, both male and female. The main types of female votaries are shown either with the arms stretched straight out in front, or with the hands placed under the breasts, or with one arm raised and the other placed on the hip. Similarly, figures which can be identified as votaries on seals show the same gesture. On the other hand, the gesture cannot be seen as exclusively denoting divinity although, in some examples, the gesture is definitely associated with the representation of a goddess. A MM I seal from Mochlos shows a figure with upraised arms who must be a goddess since her head is crowned with snakes.¹⁰⁵ Another seal (CMS V2 654) shows the figure with upraised arms with a winged animal on either side. It seems therefore fairly clear that the gesture in these cases should be interpreted as conveying a particular meaning connected with divinity. In general the gesture has been seen as a sign of blessing. Alexiou sees it as a sign of welcome, greeting, and blessing to worshippers.¹⁰⁶ Iconographic evidence, more particularly from seals and sealings, demonstrates beyond reasonable doubt that the epiphany of the deity played a significant part in Minoan ritual, and it does not seem unreasonable to interpret the gesture as one of epiphany which indicates that the goddess is present among her worshippers.¹⁰⁷ Some evidence for this can be seen on the seals with scenes showing the epiphany of the goddess, where the goddess is shown with upraised arms in the presence of worshippers as on a sealing from Knossos¹⁰⁸ or on a gold ring from the Kalyvia cemetery (CMS II.3.103).

The earlier evidence depicting female figures with upraised arms is, however, not always unambiguous, and in some cases figures who almost certainly represent votaries rather than goddesses are shown with the same gesture. This indicates that the gesture did not have a completely fixed and unique meaning but could also be used as a gesture of worship and that consequently gesture alone cannot be used to conclu-

¹⁰⁴ Demisch 1984.

¹⁰⁵ Seager 1912, 58, fig. 27.

¹⁰⁶ 1958.

¹⁰⁷ Matz 1958, 36-37.

¹⁰⁸ Niemeier 1989, 171, 3.2.

sively identify a figure as mortal or divine. As well, as has been shown by Niemeier other gestures could also indicate the epiphany of the goddess.¹⁰⁹ It is, however, possible that the gesture of the upraised arms in the LM III period acquired a single specific meaning indicating epiphany. Since, however, there is no relevant iconographical material which can indisputably be dated to the LM III period, this is not possible to verify.

These goddess figures differ in individual details, but all the figures share certain characteristics and can be said to constitute a fairly uniform group. Although they vary in size (from twenty-two to eighty-five centimetres), they all have cylindrical skirts and wear a tiara of some kind.

That the typological origin of the goddess is derived in the main from the Cretan tradition seems quite certain, although the canonical type of goddess figure with the upraised arms first occurs in LM IIIB in securely dated contexts. Unfortunately, from the Neo-palatial period, apart from the faience figurines from the Temple Repositories, no certain goddess figures have survived, although it can perhaps be assumed that they did exist. On the other hand, the almost total absence of goddess figures from the MM and LM periods suggests that representations of deities within the sanctuaries were not an essential or important part of Minoan cult. Seals and sealings, however, dating from the MM III to the LM I period, found at Knossos and Kato Zakro, depict female figures with upraised arms. The faience figurine with upraised arms holding snakes from the Temple Repositories in the palace at Knossos can also be regarded as a precursor.¹¹⁰ The snakes wound around the arms of the other figurine can be compared to the snakes on figures from Gournia, Kannia, and Prinias, and the figurine has also been compared to the EM figure from Koumasa which has snakes wound around the body.¹¹¹

The goddess figure from Sakhtouria has on stylistic grounds been considered to be earlier in date than the other examples of the type since it differs in several respects.¹¹² The arguments for an early date are convincing; however, because of the lack of archaeological context, the precise date of the Sakhtouria figure must remain conjectural. What can be said

¹⁰⁹ 1989.

¹¹⁰ Alexiou 1958, 233-235. Gesell 1985, 43, 47.

¹¹¹ Matz 1958, 32; Branigan 1969, 34.

¹¹² Tzedakis 1967, 203-206.

is that in the LM III period, representations of the goddess become more popular as well as becoming stylised and standardised so that the main, possibly only manner, of depicting the goddess was with upraised arms symbolising her presence among her worshippers.

The resemblances between the Mycenaean cult statues and the Cretan goddesses are not overwhelming. They are, almost certainly, typologically related, but this is probably a matter only of artistic influence and need not imply any cultic similarities. The relatively large size of the Cretan figures, which lacks parallels from earlier periods on Crete, can conceivably be attributed to Mycenaean influences.¹¹³ The Cretan goddesses, however, show a higher degree of standardisation and lack the variety and individuality of the Mycenaean figures. Of some significance would be the fact that the Minoan figures had attributes signifying divinity as well as a tiara.

The cultic significance of the figures of the Goddess with the Upraised Arms is not immediately comprehensible. The distinction between cult image in the strict sense and other representations of deities has been defined by V. Müller and accordingly a cult image is: "solche Götterbilder, die im Kult Verwendung finden, bzw. denen ein Kult dargebracht wird".¹¹⁴ A cult image is also seen as having an undefined but clear connection to the deity; the deity and its image are not clearly distinguished and the image is therefore in possession of divine force; in some cases the image is identified with the deity itself or the deity is permanently embodied in the image as was the case in Egypt where the cult image is the visible manifestation of the divine power. Through its cult images, the deity can be always present anywhere. It was argued by Matz that since the primary function of a true cult image is to take the place of the deity in ritual worship, any religion in which the aim of ritual is to bring about the epiphany of the deity, does not at the same time have cult images, since ritual activity involves direct communication with the deity itself, and such a belief necessarily implies a clear distinction between the deity and iconographical representations.¹¹⁵ Hägg agrees with him and argues that the Minoans did not have anthropomorphic cult images although representations of deities are quite common.¹¹⁶ I do not

¹¹³ See, however, Chapter Seven.

¹¹⁴ RE, Supp. V 1931, 472-473; cf. Hägg 1981, 45. See also Warren 1988, 30-34.

¹¹⁵ 1958.

¹¹⁶ 1986, 44. The existence of cult images throughout the Minoan period is maintained by Rutkowski (1986).

think that a religion in which the epiphany of a deity plays a central role necessarily precludes the existence of cult images.¹¹⁷ I do, however, agree that there is no positive evidence for the use of cult images as a focus of worship in Minoan sanctuaries and that it is likely that cult images, anthropomorphic or otherwise, did not exist in Minoan Crete. Ritual activity is a popular motif in Minoan iconography and the scenes which can be interpreted as showing rituals involving the epiphany of a deity indicate that these rituals often took place in the open air.¹¹⁸ As pointed out by Matz, in the Neo-palatial period, the cult building is not seen as the abode of the deity, for when sanctuaries are depicted in scenes of epiphany, the deity is shown approaching from a distance.¹¹⁹

The figures of the Goddess with the Upraised Arms, however, have commonly been regarded as cult images, in particular by Alexiou.¹²⁰ Marinatos and Hägg while denying the existence of anthropomorphic cult images in the Neo-palatial period, believe that the figures of the Goddess with the Upraised Arms should be regarded as such and that the existence of the sanctuaries dedicated to the Goddess with the Upraised Arms, represents a fundamental change in Minoan religion in the LM III period.¹²¹ Several factors, however argue against seeing the figures of the goddess as cult images and make it likely that they should rather be seen as votive dedications representing the goddess rather than cult images which were the focus of ritual. Since the cult image represents the presence of the deity in a material way and has a primary role in ritual, this implies that there can normally only be one cult image in a sanctuary. In those sanctuaries where more than one figure of a Goddess with Upraised Arms were found, none stands out as a likely cult image. Although, it is perhaps conceivable that a sanctuary could have more than one cult image,¹²² the number of figures found in certain sanctuaries make it more reasonable to suppose that they are votives. The two figures found

¹¹⁷ Later Greek religion, for instance, encompassed both cult images and the epiphany of deities.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Warren 1988, 33-34.

¹¹⁹ 1958, 27.

¹²⁰ 1958, 1967; Matz 1958, 30; Nilsson 1950, 309.

¹²¹ 1983, 196, 1991, 308. They suggest that ritual activity directed towards the figures of the Goddess with the Upraised Arms developed as a substitute for rituals involving "dargestellte Epiphanie" which had been part of palatial cult.

¹²² Nilsson (1950, 309) maintained that there can be more than one cult image of the same deity within a shrine and refers to examples from later Greek cult practice. He writes that we do not know enough about Minoan religion to be able to exclude the possibility that the figures of the goddesses with the upraised arms were cult images. Matz (1958, 30) explains the goddess figures by saying that the epiphany of the deity could also take place within its representation and that these figures were used in ritual as a means of bringing about the epiphany of the deity. Cf. Hägg 1986, 44.

in the Mavro Spelio cemetery are most likely dedications made for the protection of the dead. The material from Building G at Kavousi provides further indication that the figures of the goddess with the Upraised Arms found in the sanctuaries are votive dedications. Associated with this sanctuary was the largest number of figures found in any of these sanctuaries.¹²³ They are made in a variety of fabrics. Snake tubes as well as kalathoi and plaques were also found. The plaques were meant to be hung on the wall as can be seen from the perforations in the corners and they had originally been painted.¹²⁴ Fabric analysis suggests that these objects were made in sets and it seems to have been the custom to dedicate a goddess figure along with a snake tube, kalathos, and plaque.¹²⁵ The goddess figures and snake tubes found at Gazi were apparently also made in sets.¹²⁶ At Kommos, the snake tube and the conical cup found with it had been made from the same fabric showing that they had been made as a set.¹²⁷

The figures and figurines of goddesses from earlier periods can also be interpreted as dedications rather than cult images. One of the earliest figure of a goddess from Crete is the one found in the sanctuary at Myrtos dating to EM II. This is the only figure from before LM III which was found in a context which suggests that it might have been a cult image. She was found near a stone bench, from which she clearly had fallen, and was accordingly interpreted as a representation of a goddess and a cult image.¹²⁸ Although certainly given an individual character, the goddess figure from the sanctuary at Myrtos is typologically related to several other figures from the EM/MM period.¹²⁹ These have been found at Malia, Koumasa, Mochlos, Archanes Phourni and in the Pyrgos and Trapeza caves.¹³⁰ These figures were all found in graves or cemeteries which indicates that they were funerary dedications and they can probably be interpreted as having a protective function for the dead.¹³¹ As well several of the figures were vessels or rhyta which would seem unlikely in

¹²³ Gesell et al. 1991, 161-162.

¹²⁴ Similar plaques were found at Kannia and Karphi, and precursors can be seen in the faience relief plaques from the Temple Repositories (Gesell 1985, 52).

¹²⁵ Gesell et al. 1995, 80.

¹²⁶ Gesell 1976, 248; 1985, 71.

¹²⁷ McEnroe 1996, 227.

¹²⁸ Warren 1972, 86-87.

¹²⁹ The latest in date is the figure from Archanes dating to MM IA. The earliest is the figure from the Pyrgos cave, dating to EM I.

¹³⁰ J. & E. Sakellarakis, 1982, 485, Fig. 6, Pl. 257a. These figures have been discussed by Warren, 1973.

¹³¹ Warren 1973, 141.

the case of true cult images.¹³² It is therefore arguable that the figure found at Myrtos was also a dedication made in the sanctuary rather than the cult image and the focus of ritual. The purpose of her dedication would have been to ensure her protection of the community.

It can be suggested that the figures of the Goddesses with the Upraised Arms and the cult paraphernalia associated with her are not individual dedications but were made by different groups within the community who made use of the sanctuary in order to obtain the protection of the goddess.¹³³ It is possible that a custom of dedicating a representation of the goddess in sanctuaries occurred sporadically in earlier periods and became regularised in the LM III period. The association with snake tubes, kalathoi and plaques would further seem to indicate that the figures were meant to be left in building and not taken out and carried in processions.

Whether the figures of the Goddess with the Upraised Arms all represent the same deity so that one can talk about a single universal Minoan Goddess, or whether they represent different goddesses is impossible to answer conclusively. Although the sanctuaries and the representations of the Goddess with the Upraised Arms are typologically related, this may not necessarily indicate that the same deity was worshipped in connection with all the sanctuaries. It seems possible that the figures of the Goddess with the Upraised Arms represent individual local goddesses, perhaps possessing similar characteristics, but having a limited sphere of power, connected with fertility and the protection and prosperity of specific communities.¹³⁴ The dedications in any one sanctuary would then represent the same goddess. Peatfield has remarked that there seems to be a two-way communication between Peak Sanctuaries and settlements.¹³⁵ This could indicate that the power of the deities worshipped on Peak Sanctuaries was limited topographically to the area which could be overlooked from the sanctuary, and generally speaking it does not seem impossible that Minoan deities were perceived as being attached to particular localities, although it is certainly possible that certain deities may have been of Pan-cretan importance.¹³⁶

¹³² Peatfield suggests that these figures represent a goddess associated with liquid and fertility (1990, 124; 1995, 223).

¹³³ A similar suggestion is made by N. Marinatos 1993, 228.

¹³⁴ Cf. Dickinson 1994A, 259, 285-286; 1994B.

¹³⁵ 1990, 120.

¹³⁶ Dickinson 1994B, 180.

Peatfield, on the other hand, suggests that before the LM III period there was a universal Minoan goddess who was individualised into separate goddesses in the Post-palatial period as a response to Mycenaean polytheism. He argues that the goddess figures within a sanctuary are differentiated from each other through the permutations of the various symbols (double-axe, bird, bull, snake, agrimi, horns of consecration) associated with the goddess figure, and that this probably indicates separate goddesses; consequently each of these sanctuaries was the focus for the worship of several deities.¹³⁷

The function of the sanctuaries dedicated to the Goddess with the Upraised Arms cannot easily be determined from the archaeological evidence. None of them show any conclusive signs of ritual activity; some of the pottery, however, could suggest drinking or eating. The small size of the sanctuaries obviously precludes large gatherings. It seems therefore not unlikely that in the main they were used for storage of cult equipment and deposition and display of votives. If there was public, communal, ritual activity connected to these sanctuaries it must have taken place elsewhere, either in open areas outside or near the shrine or in the countryside outside the settlement, perhaps involving as in earlier periods rites bringing about the epiphany of the deity.¹³⁸ In common with the LM III sanctuaries, many of the earlier sanctuaries found within settlements show little sign of organised communal ritual and their main function may have been as repositories of ritual equipment. As has been pointed out by Warren, many of the Minoan sanctuaries are located in the vicinity of courts and open areas.¹³⁹

It is also possible to suggest that the sanctuaries dedicated to the Goddess with the Upraised Arms were used for private devotion. The distinction between a cult image proper and a representation of the deity does not always remain clearcut, and it is possible that the figures of the Goddess with the Upraised Arms acquired a deeper significance. The standardised depiction of the goddess as epiphanic might indicate that for her worshippers, the figures came to represent a point of contact with the

¹³⁷ 1994, 33-35.

¹³⁸ Matz and Hägg believed that the iconographical material depicted what could be called ecstatic epiphany, that is to say that the worshippers participating in the rituals actually had a vision of the deity's approach and presence among them. It seems equally likely, however, that it may have been a question of the belief that certain rites would act to bring about the epiphany. Incense or other attention-focussing devices could have been used to either to summon the deity or to indicate its presence. Incense-burners have been found in a number of Minoan sanctuaries throughout the Bronze Age.

¹³⁹ 1987, 336.

supernatural forces on which their existence was dependent. The snake tubes and offering tables demonstrate that offerings were left within the sanctuaries, and in the Shrine of the Double Axes at Knossos, there was a tripod offering table fixed to the floor.

In all, taking into account the architecture, the cult equipment, and the figure of the goddess herself, the Sanctuaries dedicated to the Goddess with the Upraised Arms are clearly not to be regarded as a radical innovation of the LM III period, but rather as a continuation of earlier cult practices which can be traced back to the Early Minoan period. The goddess figure found in the EM II sanctuary at Myrtos shows that this type of sanctuary has a deeply-rooted Cretan background. Sanctuaries with a platform analogous to the one at Myrtos are attested throughout the Palatial periods.¹⁴⁰ The similarity of context, in that the same type of figures are found both within settlement sanctuaries and in funerary contexts, between the EM/MM and LM III periods also indicates a continuous tradition. The material from the Temple Repositories in the Palace of Knossos, including two goddess figurines and fragments of several others,¹⁴¹ probably consists of the furnishings from a sanctuary, and thereby can also be seen to represent an element of continuity. Although, comparatively large-scale figures with upraised arms are on present evidence a LM III development, the portrayal of the goddess with upraised arms goes back to the Middle Minoan period, as has been previously noted. In addition, one can mention its occurrence on two vases found in the Lower West Court Sanctuary in the palace at Phaistos.¹⁴²

In his discussion of LM III sanctuaries, McEnroe defines a reoccupation shrine as "an assemblage of LM III cult equipment in a room or group of rooms originally built before LM III".¹⁴³ None of the reoccupation shrines listed by McEnroe can be definitely shown to have had a cultic function preceeding its LM III use, although it is arguable in the case of Kannia.¹⁴⁴ A deposit from the Unexplored Mansion at Knossos suggests that there was a shrine there in LM II as well as in LM III.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁰ The similarity of the sanctuary at Myrtos to the LM III sanctuaries has been remarked upon by Warren (1972, 265). See Gesell (1985) for a complete catalogue of Bench Sanctuaries.

¹⁴¹ These figurines are interpreted as priestesses by Matz (1958, 32-35) and Hägg (1986, 59). Branigan considers them related to one of the EM figures from Koumasa (1969, 34).

¹⁴² Gesell 1985, 12, Pl. 39,40.

¹⁴³ 1979, 253.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. footnote 99.

¹⁴⁵ Popham et al. 1984, 262. The finds include a small female figure with outstretched arms and a flounced bell-shaped skirt, a conical clay rhyton, a large alabastron, a Palace Style jar, as well as much fine pottery and pieces of bronze and ivory.

Regarding the Shrine of the Double Axes, the function of the room in the Neo-palatial period is unknown, although there is evidence for cult in the previous period in the south/east wing of the palace.¹⁴⁶ At Koumasa objects of MM-LM I date were found in the building with the snake tube, possibly indicating cult use also in previous periods. The date of the construction of the shrine at Gournia has been debated but arguably it dates to the LM III period.¹⁴⁷ McEnroe is right in contrasting the number of LM III shrines with those of the Neo-palatial period. This does not, however, necessarily indicate significant changes in cult practices, not to mention essential religious beliefs, but should be attributed to the fact that many of the religious activities of the Neo-palatial period were centred on the palaces, Peak Sanctuaries and Sacred Enclosures rather than on sanctuaries within settlements. The LM III period represents the standardisation and increasing popularity of cult forms which existed already in earlier periods as a result of the decentralisation of religious expression following the breakdown of the Minoan palace administration.

The widespread occurrence of the sanctuaries dedicated to the Goddess with the Upraised Arms in the LM III period is an innovation in Cretan cult. It is certainly to be attributed to the changed political and social conditions on Crete in this period. In the LM III period, the Cretans had to find new forms of religious expression. The religious forms of the Mycenaeans, however, do not seem to have been taken over by the Minoans. It is possible that the Mycenaeans legitimised their rule over Crete exclusively by the right of conquest and force and not through the use of ideology, by imposing Mycenaean religion on the Cretan population, and that therefore Mycenaean cult practices did not become widespread on Crete.¹⁴⁸ In any case, there does not seem to be any aggressive policy of Mycenaeanisation. The homogeneity of religious expression in the Post-palatial period may conceivably be seen as derived from Mycenaean rule in that it provided a strong administration which formed the background for relative social stability and uniformity of culture.

As has already been noted, there is, however, some evidence that the Mycenaeans might have made use of Minoan religion probably in

¹⁴⁶ Hood 1995, 394.

¹⁴⁷ Russel 1979, 27-33.

¹⁴⁸ Dickinson (1994B, 181; 1996, 68) has remarked that ancient civilisations did not normally impose their own religion on conquered peoples.

order to enhance their own legitimacy and perhaps to give an impression of continuity. The sanctuaries at Iouktas and Kato Symi apparently continue to demonstrate a high level involvement also in the LM II period. Although not uncontroversial or generally accepted, the most likely reading of the evidence is that a Mycenaean ruling elite was established at Knossos following the LM IB destructions. The LM II finds from Iouktas and Kato Symi could then indicate that the new Mycenaean rulers showed interest in following in the tradition of the Neo-palatial rulers and emphasised the importance of religious legitimisation. Further evidence is perhaps provided by burials. Dickinson has remarked that graves which are typically Mycenaean in the use of weapons as grave goods also have Minoan features such as the use of necklaces and armlets as an apparent sign of rank, indicating an eagerness to conform with Minoan practice.¹⁴⁹ Of particular interest is Sellopoulo Tomb 4 where the burial contained a gold ring engraved with a religious scene.¹⁵⁰ The previously mentioned sealing from the tripartite shrine in the palace at Knossos has been dated to the LM II period. The seal from which it was made would seem more likely to be LM I reflecting Minoan concepts of rulership and as such it has been discussed by most commentators. However, its use in LM II may indicate the continuation by the Mycenaean rulers of Minoan religio-politico imagery.¹⁵¹

Mycenaean religion on Crete

That Mycenaean religion was practised on Crete and in a palatial setting can be seen from the Linear B tablets found at Knossos which indicate close affinities in cult practice between Knossos and Pylos, presumably reflecting what were basically Mycenaean cult practices.¹⁵² The names of Greek gods occur on the Knossos tablets and Zeus and Dionysos are mentioned on one of the Linear B tablets from Khania.¹⁵³ Otherwise, the information that can be drawn from the tablets concerns mainly offerings made to various deities and the tablets indicate the active involvement of

¹⁴⁹ 1996, 63-71.

¹⁵⁰ Popham et al. 1974, 217, 223; Popham 1994, 94-95.

¹⁵¹ Peatfield (1983, 279) suggests that the sealing represents Mycenaean religious propaganda.

¹⁵² Renfrew 1981, 32; 1985, 436; Furumark 1965, 89.

¹⁵³ Hallager et al. 1992, 75-81.

the ruling Mycenaean elite in the organisation of the cult. How widespread Mycenaean cult was on Crete is an open question, but there is, as has been noted, no evidence and little reason to suggest that it had spread beyond the main Mycenaean administrative centres.

On the other hand, it does seem evident that the Mycenaean religion practised at Knossos was to a certain extent influenced by Minoan cult although the extent of the impact of Minoan religious beliefs on the Mycenaean rulers in LM III Crete is difficult to evaluate.¹⁵⁴ Tablet KN Fpl gives a list of offerings made to named divinities; among them is di-ka-ta-jo di-we or Diktaian Zeus, indicating that the Mycenaean god Zeus had already in the Late Bronze Age been associated with Cretan topography.¹⁵⁵ The goddess Eleithuia, whose name occurs on the tablets, is likely of Cretan origin. Religion can function as a force of opposition and a threat to ruling authority, and it is possible that Minoan cult activity could have been perceived as such by the Mycenaean rulers.¹⁵⁶ The existence of local gods or cults which were not part of official religion or officially recognised could be seen as a potential source of conflict. Dickinson suggests there may have been a deliberate policy of syncretism which gave prominence to local cults as a way of conciliating the Cretan population.¹⁵⁷

As yet, however, there is no architectural evidence on Crete which can be connected to Mycenaean cult practices, although sanctuaries are mentioned in the Knossos tablets.¹⁵⁸ Possibly the built altar in the Piazzale dei Sacelli at Ayia Triadha could be an indication of Mycenaean ritual activity. The Piazzale dei Sacelli was bordered on the north by a stoa from which the activities in the court could be watched. At LM III Tyllissos, there was a similar layout of court and stoa and although there were no significant finds, it has been argued that it was also used for ritual activity.¹⁵⁹ Hayden has suggested that the Late Minoan III construction activity at Tyllissos is to be connected with official activity.¹⁶⁰ In that case, one could suggest that the arrangement of court and stoa found both at

¹⁵⁴ Hägg (1985, 204) has suggested that there was in LM III Crete and particularly at Knossos a Hellado-Minoan syncretism so that Mycenaean religion as practised on Crete would have been different from that of the Mainland.

¹⁵⁵ Hooker 1979; Chadwick 1985, 197;

¹⁵⁶ Cf. Ahern 1981, 78, 83-91.

¹⁵⁷ Dickinson 1994B, 181. Mersereau (1993, 16) has suggested the possibility that the widespread occurrence of the sanctuaries dedicated to the Goddess with the Upraised Arms represents the manipulation of Minoan religion by the Mycenaean rulers for political reasons.

¹⁵⁸ Hiller 1981.

¹⁵⁹ Hayden 1984, 43.

¹⁶⁰ 1984, 46.

Tylissos and Ayia Triadha is to be attributed to the requirements of Mycenaean cult. A possible parallel from a cult area on the Mainland would be the North/East Insula of the palace at Pylos where there was a roofed colonnade along the east side of the court in front of Room 93 (cf. Chapter One).

The basic continuity of Minoan religion into the LM III period, accords with the general continuity of culture in this period. In contrast to the situation in the Cyclades where Mycenaean influences are pervasive, Mycenaean influences on the material culture of Crete although certainly present and perhaps fairly widespread seem superficial, and Crete seems to have remained essentially Minoan in culture to the end of the Bronze Age.

Minoan influence on Mycenaean cult buildings

Returning to the question of Minoan influence on the architecture of the Mycenaean sanctuaries in the LH III period, Renfrew suggests Building H as a possible precursor to the West Shrine;¹⁶¹ however, the date of Building H is LM III, not LM I, and it is therefore too late in date to have had any influence on the buildings at Phylakopi. Kilian believes that there is Minoan influence to be seen in the earliest sanctuary at Tiryns and he compares it in particular to the sanctuary at Gazi.¹⁶² The sanctuary at Gazi, however, was part of a larger structure and therefore not really analogous to Room 117 at Tiryns which is a free-standing building. Room 117 is of a very simple architectural form and its resemblance to the free-standing shrines of LM III Crete is too general to be significant. Particular elements such as the columns are not paralleled in Crete. Generally speaking, there are no obvious parallels in architecture between the Minoan LM III sanctuaries, which vary greatly in plan, and the Mycenaean cult buildings. Features such as the staircase or the central platform in the Temple at Mycenae, and the hearths in the Room with the Fresco Complex and in the cult building at Methana are not found in Cretan sanctuaries with the exception of Kannia where there was a hearth in Room V. Concerning Minoan sanctuaries of earlier periods, no convincing predecessors can be found. If the interpretation of Myrtos as a

¹⁶¹ 1985, 435.

¹⁶² 1979, 390.

public sanctuary is correct, then public community shrines certainly existed on Crete from an early period. Most Cretan sanctuaries, however, are small rooms within larger building complexes. Separate sanctuary buildings certainly did exist, yet examples such as the Sanctuary of the Horns or the MM II sanctuary at Malia are not architecturally similar to each other and are otherwise without parallels from elsewhere on Crete and are therefore unlikely as prototypes. It was long ago argued by Banti that platforms found in Mainland sanctuaries were derived from Crete;¹⁶³ this is possible, but it seems more likely that platforms within the Mycenaean sanctuaries are connected with the functional installations of Mycenaean houses (cf. Chapter Six). Bent-axis approach has been seen by Marinatos and Hägg to be characteristic of Minoan religious architecture of the palatial period.¹⁶⁴ In many cases, though not always, as for instance in the LM II sanctuary at Malia, it is connected with the polythyron which does not occur on the Mainland. In the LM III sanctuaries the position of the entrance does not seem to have had any particular significance. The Minoan usage of bent-axis approach as a means of controlling access to the focus-of-attention seems unrelated to its occurrence in sanctuaries on the Mainland.

In Chapter Six, it will be argued that the Mycenaean cult buildings were built on the model of domestic architecture and were meant to convey the meaning that the building was the dwelling of the deity. The particular plan of LM III Cretan sanctuaries does not seem to have been of any importance and therefore carried no particular symbolic meaning. In those cases where the sanctuary is part of a larger building complex, the use of particular rooms for a religious function is likely to be secondary to the planning of the building as a whole. That the LM III sanctuaries did not require any well-defined architectural form is also indicated by the fact that several of them were reoccupation shrines and situated in rooms which had originally had a secular function. The free-standing sanctuaries which may have been originally constructed for a cultic function, vary considerably in plan. It seems that any small structure or group of rooms could be adapted to a religious use.

If, as will be argued in Chapter Seven, the Late Bronze Age Mycenaean cult buildings belong to the same tradition as the Temple at Ayia Irini on Keos, the origins of Mycenaean sacred architecture goes back

¹⁶³ 1941-1943, 19-21.

¹⁶⁴ 1986, 57-73; Hägg 1986, 50.

to the Middle Helladic period, to a time before there are significant Minoan influences on the Mainland. Accordingly, there seems little reason to see Minoan prototypes in the Mycenaean cult buildings. It seems therefore, that Mycenaean artistic depictions of sanctuaries do not represent actual Mycenaean structures but are merely indicative of iconographical conventions (cf. Chapter One).¹⁶⁵

The fact that Cretan influences are conspicuously absent in the architectural design of Mycenaean cult buildings gives added weight to the growing opinion that Minoan influence on Mycenaean religion was in reality quite superficial, limited mainly to iconography.¹⁶⁶ The Mycenaeans do not seem to have possessed any religious iconography or visual symbolism of their own and therefore quite readily took these over from the Minoans when they came into contact with them. Almost certainly they re-interpreted them and gave them a particular meaning relevant to their own beliefs.¹⁶⁷ Niemeier has shown that the Mycenaeans were selective in iconography. A general conclusion is that Minoan influence on Mycenaean religion cannot have been complete and thoroughgoing. Mycenaean religion apparently retained a strong Helladic tradition and may have been open to influences other than Minoan ones.

In conclusion, Minoan and Mycenaean religion can be regarded as quite separate, having different sets of beliefs and cult practices, and essentially this remained the case to the end of the Bronze Age.¹⁶⁸ As well, as will be discussed in Chapter Eight, there may have been major differences in the social function of religion.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Hägg 1981, 36; Niemeier 1990, 166.

¹⁶⁶ This is also indicated by the fact that Minoan religious iconography seems to be more popular in earlier periods (Hägg 1985, 214).

¹⁶⁷ Cf. Hägg 1982, 37.

¹⁶⁸ N. Marinatos (1993, 228), on the other hand, believes that a religious koine may have existed throughout the Aegean in the later part of the Bronze Age, and that Minoan and Mycenaean sanctuaries were typologically related and had the same function.

THE HYPOTHESIS OF A CONNECTION BETWEEN CERTAIN PALESTINIAN TEMPLES AND MYCENAEAN CULT BUILDINGS

For the possibility of a foreign origin of the Mycenaean cult buildings, the most forceful case has been made for a derivation from Palestinian prototypes. This theory was first put forward in 1980 by Mazar in his publication of the excavations of a series of early Iron Age temples at Tell Qasile. In a chapter entitled "Comparative Study of Temple Architecture in Relation to the Temples at Tell Qasile", he connects the Mycenaean cult buildings with a particular group of Palestinian temples and argues that there is a basic affinity between them. Mazar's theory is based mainly on the similarities in groundplan between the last two temples at Tell Qasile (Strata XI and X), dating to the eleventh century, and the Mycenaean cult buildings at Mycenae and Phylakopi. Mazar noted the points of resemblance between the religious structures of the Aegean and certain Palestinian temples and concluded that they should be considered as belonging to one particular type of temple. Mazar considers the connection undeniable, and although what the nature of such a connection might be or how the influences might have been transmitted is not yet clear, it can probably be related to close trade connections in the eastern Mediterranean in the Late Bronze Age. Mazar emphasises, however, that more research is needed before the questions raised by a connection between Mycenaean and Palestinian cult buildings can be clarified.¹

Although the temples at Tell Qasile can be attributed to the Philistines, the architectural features of the temples of Strata XI and X can be paralleled in earlier Palestinian temples, and the last two temples at Tell Qasile can be classified with several other Palestinian temples dating

¹ Following Mazar's publication, the idea that there exists a typological relationship between cult buildings in the Aegean and Canaan has been quite widely accepted and even in some cases taken almost as a given. Mainly this has been seen as a question of Levantine influences on the sacred architecture of the Aegean. See T. Dothan 1985A, 170; 1981, 251; G. Wright 1985, 486; Negbi 1988, 339, 357; Bunimovitz 1990, 214; Dietrich 1985, 228-239; J. Muhly 1984, 149; Morris 1992, 108-111; Rehak 1992, 58, 61; Cline 1994, 54; Peltenburg 1991, 168.

to the Late Bronze Age. These would include the Fosse temples at Lachish (Catalogue C 2) and the successive temples at Tel Mevorakh (Catalogue C 3), as well as the newly discovered temple at Beth Shan (Catalogue C 1).²

Temples 200 and 131 at Tell Qasile differ in certain respects from the Late Bronze Age temples at Tel Mevorakh and Lachish. The most important difference is that the temples at Tell Qasile were not free-standing buildings located at an isolated spot but were integrated into the town structure and moreover were attached to other buildings having different functions lying to the south of the temples.³ The temple of Stratum R3 at Beth Shan, however, may have been part of a larger building complex.⁴ The temples at Tell Qasile were in close proximity to public buildings which indicates that at Tell Qasile public buildings were concentrated in one area of the settlement.⁵ The location of the temples at Tell Qasile can possibly be paralleled in the sanctuary of Strata V/IV (Field IV) in the Philistine settlement at Ekron dating to the eleventh century. The sanctuary consisted of three rooms of small dimensions, the entrances of which face onto a courtyard lying to the west. In the middle room, there was a roughly square platform with two lower steps in the south/east corner directly opposite the entrance. In the courtyard, there was a central hearth and two bases for posts to the north and south of the hearth.⁶ The sanctuary was situated within a larger building complex which has been identified as a public building located in the central area of the city.⁷ The cult area at Ekron has similar features to Temples 200 and 131 at Tell Qasile such as a platform placed off the central axis and a courtyard.

As can be seen and as pointed out by Mazar, the temples within this group have many individual features and vary a great deal in plan.⁸

² The temples of Levels VII and VI at Beth Shan were also originally included within this group by Mazar because they shared features of asymmetry. Stern in his publication of the temples at Tel Mevorakh accepted Mazar's classification but included in addition the Summit Temple in Area P at Lachish. It seems more reasonable to consider the temples of Levels VII and VI at Beth Shan as well as the Summit temple at Lachish as a distinct type primarily characterised by having the cult focus elevated above the main room of the temple and by Egyptian architectural elements. Cf. Mazar (1992, 173-177) where they are discussed as a separate group. Building 30 at Tell Abu Hawam has not been included in this discussion because its identification as a temple is not certain and furthermore there is uncertainty regarding the location of the entrance. The classification of the temples at Tell Qasile with Palestinian temples of the Late Bronze Age has been objected to by Burdajewicz (1986, 222-235; 1990, 46-54) and Noort (1994, 153). Burdajewicz maintains that one cannot speak of typological relations between buildings unless one can also show that there are ethnic affinities between the people who built them. He therefore denies that a comparison between the series of temples at Tell Qasile and earlier Palestinian temples can have any meaning.

³ Mazar 1980, 61.

⁴ Mazar 1993A, 612-613.

⁵ Mazar 1980, 30.

⁶ Dothan & Gitin 1987, 205; T. & M. Dothan 1992, 248; T. Dothan 1995, 48.

⁷ Dothan & Gitin 1987, 205.

⁸ 1980, 65; 1990, 181.

They can, however, be classified as a type on account of certain shared characteristics such as relatively small size combined with irregularity of plan, the most noticeable feature of which being an asymmetrical entrance. The appearance of the cult focus is similar as are features such as platforms along the walls and posts supporting the ceiling. In addition, there are one or more subsidiary rooms. The temples sharing these characteristics have been termed temples with irregular plan and indirect access by Mazar.⁹

The group of temples with irregular plan and asymmetrical entrance has been interpreted by Stern as Road Sanctuaries intended for the use of travellers,¹⁰ while Bunimovitz has suggested that they should be regarded as subsidiary sanctuaries to the main, official temples of the Palestinian city states.¹¹ The interpretation of these temples as road sanctuaries is possible in the case of Tel Mevorakh which was located on a major thoroughfare between the Sharon Plain and the Carmel coast but not close to any habitation. It is also possible in the case of Lachish since the first Fosse Temple at Lachish was constructed at a time when there was apparently no settlement at the site and later the temples remained outside the limits of the Late Bronze Age city.¹² The locations of the Fosse Temples and the temples at Tel Mevorakh can also be compared in another respect. The temples at Tel Mevorakh were located at the site of a Middle Bronze Age fortress and the Fosse Temples were built within the disused Middle Bronze Age fortifications and this may be more significant than their isolated location.¹³ Since Fosse Temples II and III and the Summit Temple at Lachish were in use at the same time, it could also be possible to interpret the former as dependent and of a lower status than the latter. On the other hand, there seems no particular reason to do so. There is no evidence of any connection between the Summit Temple and the Fosse Temples or of any difference in status. The fact that the Summit Temple was constructed after Fosse Temple II had been built would seem an argument to the contrary.

⁹ 1980, 65.

¹⁰ 1984, 36; Negbi 1988, 353.

¹¹ 1990, 214.

¹² Ussishkin 1978, 91.

¹³ The Late Bronze Age temple in Area C at Hazor was also built within Middle Bronze Age fortifications; this suggests that a connection between sanctuary and fortification walls could have had some significance in Late Bronze Age Palestine.

The groundplans of all of these temples are asymmetrical with regard to the location of the entrance into the main room. The entrance can be either bent-axis as in Fosse Temple I and the temple of Stratum R3 at Beth Shan, or off-axis as in Fosse Temples II and III and Temples 200 and 131 at Tell Qasile. The exact position of the entrances at Tel Mevorakh is uncertain although but the entrance to the temple of Stratum XI must have been either off-axis or bent-axis and the position of the entrance may have been preserved in the successive temples.¹⁴ With regard to the location of the cult focus and its relationship with the position of the entrance into the main room, the degree of asymmetry varies. The Fosse Temples at Lachish all have the cult focus placed on the central axis, so that the main room can be said to be basically symmetrical in layout. In the other temples, the cult focus is placed to one side, off the central axis. In Temple 131 at Tell Qasile the cult focus is on the same axis as the entrance from the anteroom while in Temple 200 and the temples at Tel Mevorakh it was probably situated diagonally across from the entrance. At Beth Shan, the cult focus was situated so that anybody entering the main room would have to make a right-angle turn in order to face it. Although there are differences in degree, it seems that asymmetry of plan is deliberately sought and can be considered the most striking aspect of these temples. The presence of indirect entrance is significant because it means that the cult focus could not be seen from outside the temple and that the worshipper had to enter into the main room of the temple in order to see the cult focus.

Subsidiary rooms were a common feature of these temples, the only exception being the temple of Stratum XI at Tel Mevorakh. The excavator suggests, however, that it is very likely that subsidiary rooms may have been located in the unexcavated area of the site.¹⁵

The orientation of the entrance does not seem to have been of any importance (Fig. 56). The orientation of the cult focus, on the other hand, may have had some significance (Fig. 57). The cult focus in the Fosse Temples at Lachish was oriented almost due south. At Tell Qasile, Tel Mevorakh, and probably at Beth Shan the cult focus is oriented towards the west. Mazar suggests an orientation towards the sea for the temples at Tell Qasile.¹⁶ This seems reasonable both for Tel Mevorakh and Tell

¹⁴ Stern 1984, 28.

¹⁵ Stern 1984, 30.

¹⁶ 1980, 71.

Qasile as both sites are located close to the sea. It could also be significant that although both the Fosse Temples at Lachish and the temples at Tell Qasile were rebuilt considerably, the position of the cult focus within the main room remains unchanged.

That there are similarities between Mycenaean cult buildings and the Palestinian temples with irregular plan and indirect access is undeniable. The question is whether these similarities are entirely coincidental or whether they should be attributed in some way to direct contact between the two areas. If the latter is the case, there is the further question of how such a relationship should be interpreted.

Assuming that there exists a relationship between the Mycenaean cult buildings and the Palestinian temples with irregular plan and indirect access, several hypotheses can be considered. On the one hand, there is the possibility of actual foreign intrusions, that is to say either the Palestinian temples were built and used by Mycenaeans or the Mycenaean cult buildings were built and used by Canaanites. If the temples with indirect access and irregular plan found in Palestine are to be considered Mycenaean, the temples at Lachish, Beth Shan, and Tel Mevorakh would have been used by Mycenaean traders living in Palestine and/or by Mycenaean traders who periodically visited Palestine, while the Mycenaean origin of the Philistines would explain the typological resemblances of the temples of Strata XI and X at Tell Qasile to the earlier Palestinian temples. The resemblances between the temples at Tell Qasile and the temples at Beth Shan, Lachish and Tel Mevorakh would then be due to an underlying Mycenaean origin rather than to local Palestinian influence on Philistine religious architecture. Likewise, if the Mycenaean cult buildings were used by Canaanites, they would have been used by Canaanites either permanently established as craftsmen or merchants in various places in the Aegean area or by traders and sailors who regularly visited the Aegean.

On the other hand, the similarities may be due to the influence of Mycenaean cult buildings on Palestinian sacred architecture or alternatively to the influence of a certain type of Palestinian temple on the Mycenaean cult buildings. This influence would most probably be attributed to cultural interaction resulting from a close trading relationship. Since temples with irregular plan and indirect access can be seen to have existed in Palestine from the beginning of the Late Bronze Age, it is certainly chronologically possible that they may have influenced

Mycenaean cult buildings (Charts 2, 3). Although the Mycenaean cult buildings are all later in date than the earliest Palestinian temple with indirect access and irregular plan, it is possible to suggest that the existence of Mycenaean cult buildings goes back earlier in time than can be proven on present evidence (cf. Chapter Seven) and to consider also whether architectural influences may have passed from the Aegean to the Levant.

A close comparison of the architectural features is necessary in order to determine whether the conclusion that architectural concepts were common to both Palestine and the Aegean is unescapable or even probable. Two separate aspects are involved; the number of similar features as compared with those that differ and the distinctiveness of the features involved. The characteristics which the Mycenaean and Palestinian cult buildings have been stated to share are: relatively small size, indirect or asymmetrical entrance, platform as cult focus, platforms along the side walls, and subsidiary rooms sometimes situated behind the main room.¹⁷ Each of these features will now be discussed in turn. As has been previously stated, neither the Palestinian nor the Mycenaean cult buildings conform to any rigid plan and there is a good deal of variation in architectural detail.

The most obvious point of resemblance between the Palestinian temples at Lachish, Beth Shan, Tel Mevorakh, and Tell Qasile, and the Mycenaean cult buildings at Phylakopi, Mycenae, and Tiryns is their relatively small size, although the main rooms of the Mycenaean cult buildings are all smaller than the Palestinian temples (Table 9). This may be coincidental and due to the limited number of examples available. In any case, a general lack of monumentality is characteristic of both Palestinian and Mycenaean cult buildings. Within the group of Mycenaean cult buildings, there is also a certain amount of variation in size; Room 110 at Tiryns has an estimated area of less than five square metres while the estimated area of the West Shrine at Phylakopi, the largest of the Mycenaean cult buildings has an estimated area of almost thirty-five square metres. The proportions of the main room of the Mycenaean and Palestinian cult buildings are also comparable (Figs. 58, 59). It can also be said that the principles of organisation of the layout is similar in Mycenaean and Palestinian cult buildings. In both cases, one

¹⁷ Mazar 1980; Stern 1984.

enters, sometimes directly, sometimes indirectly through an anteroom, into the main room of the sanctuary which is also the largest room of the structure. The relationship of the entrance to the cult focus can also be seen as comparable; both in the Palestinian (with the exception of Fosse Temple I) and Mycenaean cult buildings, the cult focus is located at the opposite end from the entrance.

Indirect access to the main room of the sanctuary is one of the salient characteristics of this type of Palestinian temples and distinguishes them from most other types of Palestinian temples which are constructed on a symmetrical plan with an axial entrance (Table 6). The entrance can be either off-axis, bent-axis, or through an anteroom. In a religious context, an asymmetrical entrance has the advantage of keeping the cult focus hidden from outside view, thereby making it necessary to enter the building before being able to see it. Indirect access, can therefore be seen as a factor in demarcating a divide between the outside world and the sacred area, thereby emphasising the function of the cult building as a liminal zone. This division is further emphasised when the entrance from the outside does not lead directly into the main room but rather into an intermediary room such as is the case in Fosse Temples II and III at Lachish, the temple of Stratum R3 at Beth Shan, Temple 131 and Shrine 300 at Tell Qasile. Although not a preoccupation in all Palestinian temples, it seems fairly clear that the purpose of this type of entrance in the temples with irregular plan and indirect access was to deliberately hide the cult focus with the cult image from outside view. In Fosse Temple I at Lachish, the main entrance into the building was bent-axis; in addition, a short screening wall projecting from the north wall of Room B was constructed in front of the entrance. In Temple 200 at Tell Qasile, the entrance into the main room was off-axis, directly from the outside. The cult focus was also located off the central axis of the building. It was not aligned with the entrance but rather it was located just outside the field of vision of a person standing directly outside the entrance.

Indirect or asymmetrical entrance is not such a marked feature of the Mycenaean cult buildings and among the Mycenaean sanctuaries there is some variation in the form of the entrance. A direct axial entrance is found in the West Shrine at Phylakopi, Tsountas' House Shrine at Mycenae, Room 110 and Room 110a at Tiryns. Off-axis entrance is found in Room 117 at Tiryns and in the Cult Room at Methana. Bent-axis entrance is found in the East Shrine at Phylakopi and into the main room

of the Room with the Fresco Complex. Both the Room with the Fresco Complex and the Temple at Mycenae have an anteroom. Although asymmetrical or indirect entrances occur in Mycenaean cult buildings, it cannot be considered an essential feature. It also seems less certain whether concealing the cult focus was a particular issue to the Mycenaeans in the construction of their cult buildings. The occurrence of bent-axis entrance in the East Shrine at Phylakopi and in the Room with the Fresco Complex at Mycenae might suggest so. On the other hand, the entrances to Room 110 and 110a at Tiryns were almost completely open. At Methana, the cult focus was situated directly opposite the entrance. The West Shrine in its earliest phase had two entrances, one of which was bent-axis; this entrance was, however, later filled in. Although the platforms which functioned as the cult focus in the West Shrine were located to either side of the main axis on which the entrance was located, it was perfectly possible for someone standing ca. two metres outside the entrance to see most of the north/west platform and a good deal of the south/west platform. In the Temple at Mycenae, the doorway into the anteroom from the courtyard is slightly off-centre in relation to the doorway between the anteroom and Room 18 which is set more or less on the main longitudinal axis of the building. A person standing in the doorway of the anteroom would, however, see the staircase and the platforms in the eastern part of the room. A person standing ca. two metres outside the entrance would still have been able to see a good deal of the eastern part of the room. It therefore seems that concealing the cult focus from outside view was not a factor in the layout of the Mycenaean cult buildings.¹⁸

The cult focus in all the Palestinian temples with irregular plan and indirect entrance consists of a platform, although the appearance of the platform varies quite considerably. Another type of cult focus also found in Palestinian temples of the Late Bronze Age is a niche (Table 6).¹⁹ The fact that the cult focus is a platform in all the examples of temples with irregular plan and indirect access may be due to coincidence. The cult focus in Fosse Temple III can be seen as a combination of a platform with a niche since it is recessed about sixty centimetres into the back wall. Although architecturally a platform is very different from a niche, func-

¹⁸ See also Gilmour (1993, 129-132) and Albers 1996, 651 for discussion on bent-axis approach in Mycenaean and Palestinian cult buildings.

¹⁹ Mazar 1980, 68.

tionally they are comparable as both can be used as a setting for the cult object.

The cult focus in the Mycenaean sanctuaries are basically simple platforms, while in the Palestinian temples they are elaborate structures with steps and projections and cannot really be considered as close parallels (Table 10). There was quite possibly also some difference in the function of the cult focus in Mycenaean and Palestinian cult buildings. In Palestinian temples, it is generally assumed that the platform was used to support the cult statue.²⁰ Clay human figures were found on the platforms in the Mycenaean cult buildings, but it is debatable whether these should be regarded as representations of the deity or of worshippers (cf. Chapter Eight).

Platforms along the walls were an essential feature of the Palestinian temples with irregular plan and indirect access since they occur in all of them and they must have been connected with the cult practised within the temples. The function of the platforms in the Palestinian temples seems clear; they were not for sitting but for the deposition of votives and offerings.²¹ The large number of bowls found in association with the platforms in the temples at Lachish and Tel Mevorakh suggests that offerings of food and drink were very common; animal bones were found in many of the bowls from Fosse Temple III.²² Bowls were also common in the temples at Tell Qasile. The appearance of the platforms also suggests that they were not for sitting. In Temple 200 and Shrine 300 at Tell Qasile the platforms are very low, less than twenty centimetres high and at Tel Mevorakh and in Temple 131 at Tell Qasile the platforms were stepped. The platforms in Fosse Temples II and III at Lachish which were found in parallel rows were situated too close together (ca thirty centimetres) to have been used as seats.

In the Mycenaean sanctuaries, additional platforms along the walls were found in the West Shrine at Phylakopi, in Tsountas' House Shrine at Mycenae, and in the Cult Room at Methana. They may have been for offerings or the deposition of votives although none were found in direct association with the platforms. The platform along the south wall of the West Shrine at Phylakopi was on two levels, and the platforms in Rooms A and B of the West Shrine were very low. It is therefore most likely that

²⁰ Tufnell et al. 1940, 19, 38; Mazar 1980, 69.

²¹ Mazar 1980, 70.

²² Tufnell et al. 1940, 27.

they were not seats. The platform in Room Gamma 1 is forty-five centimetres high and one metre wide which would seem too wide if the platform was meant for sitting.

Subsidiary rooms, probably used for the storage of cult equipment when not in use and possibly as treasuries for votive offerings, are a feature of Palestinian temples with irregular plan and indirect access. These rooms vary to a great extent, both as regards size and their placement in relation to the rest of the temple. In most cases, the storerooms are situated in direct relation to the main sanctuary room and thereby easily accessible from it. Votives, particularly those of some value, which had been deposited on the platforms within the main room may have been placed in the storerooms after some time had elapsed.

Subsidiary rooms were found in the West Shrine at Phylakopi, in the Temple and in the Room with the Fresco Complex at Mycenae, and in the Cult Building at Methana. These rooms may have functioned as treasuries or for storage, but they may also have had a function more closely associated with the cult practised in the sanctuary (cf. Chapter One).²³

Palestinian architecture has been referred to as a limited columnar tradition,²⁴ and columns are quite widely found in temples. Their use in cult buildings has been attributed to Egyptian influences.²⁵ Columns in Palestinian temples seem often to have had mainly a structural function, in supporting the roof of the temple as in the Fosse Temples at Lachish or Temple 131 at Tell Qasile. Stern suggests that the small column to the south of the platform at Tel Mevorakh may have supported a canopy over the cult focus.²⁶ A similar arrangement may also have existed in the temple of Stratum R3 at Beth Shan.²⁷ In the Mycenaean cult buildings, posts were found only in the Temple, although it is possible that there may have been posts in the West Shrine at Phylakopi.

The central platform in the Temple and in the Cult Room at Methana has no precise parallel in Palestinian temple architecture. The central platform in Room 31 at Mycenae may, however, have been a hearth and there was a hearth in one corner of the Room A in the cult

²³ Cf. Gilmour 1993, 128.

²⁴ G. Wright 1985, 242.

²⁵ Stern 1984, 29-30.

²⁶ Stern 1984, 29.

²⁷ Mazar 1993A, 612.

building at Methana. There were small circular hearths in front of the platform in Fosse Temples II and III at Lachish.

Jars embedded in the ground were found in both Mycenaean and Palestinian cult buildings. In Fosse Temple I there were two jars located directly in front of the platform and in the temple of Stratum XI at Tel Mevorakh, there was a jar in the lower platform. In Room Gamma 1 at Mycenae there was a jar embedded in the ground close to the central platform and the necks of amphorae were found in Rooms 33 and xxv of the Room with the Fresco Complex. Presumably the jars were for libations in both the Palestinian and Mycenaean cult buildings although the jars in Fosse Temple I were filled with animal bones. One of them had, however, a broken bottom and the other may have been deliberately perforated; it was suggested that the many dipper flasks found in Fosse Temple I might have been for pouring libations.²⁸

Stern suggests that the white plaster which covered the walls of the temples at Tel Mevorakh may have been a base for painted wall decoration as in the Summit Temple in Area P at Lachish where fragments of painted plaster were found. Painted wall decoration also occurs in other Palestinian public buildings.²⁹ A similar use of painted wall decoration also occurs in the Aegean where it occurs in the Room with the Fresco Complex and possibly in other cult buildings (cf. Chapter One) as well as in the palaces.

From the foregoing, it is evident that a comparison of Palestinian and Mycenaean cult buildings does reveal common individual features, and that taken together, the resemblances might be considered quite striking. On the other hand, none of the characteristics of the Mycenaean cult buildings which can be paralleled in the Palestinian temples with irregular plan and indirect access are in themselves particularly distinctive. The layout of the cult buildings, although basically the same, is too simple to support any wide-reaching theories of influence as are the possible parallels in the use of painted plaster.

The lack of canonical plan and the variety of detail found in the individual Mycenaean cult buildings can be used as an argument against any outside influence. If the Mycenaeans were basing their sacred architecture on a foreign model, one would surely have expected a greater degree of conformity between the various structures. Furthermore,

²⁸ Tufnell et al. 1940, 39.

²⁹ Stern 1984, 28.

asymmetry of plan seems to have been deliberately sought after in the construction of the Palestinian temples with irregular plan and indirect access. The same does not seem to have been the case with the Mycenaean cult buildings where both completely symmetrical and irregular ground-plans occur.³⁰

Schäfer remarks on the differences in the role of the courtyards between the Mycenaean and Palestinian cult buildings seem relevant.³¹ Most Palestinian temples were situated in large courtyards which was where public ritual activity took place, rather than inside the temples;³² the courtyard can then be seen as an integral part of the temple complex, so that the actual boundaries of the sanctuary are not the walls of the temple building, but the perimeter of temple and courtyard. From the earliest period of temple building in Palestine, fenced courtyards seem to have been a natural part of the temple complex.³³ The temples at Tel Mevorakh were situated in a large walled courtyard. Temple 200 at Tell Qasile was surrounded by a large open area which was surrounded by a wall in Stratum X. The courts of both Temples 200 and 131 could have accommodated the entire population of Tell Qasile.³⁴ The layers of ash mixed with bones and sherds, including fragments of cooking pots, indicate clearly that animal sacrifice and probably sacred meals took place in the courtyards outside the temples at Tell Qasile.³⁵ The Fosse Temples at Lachish did not have walled courtyard. It seems likely, however, that the area in the fosse around the temple buildings was used in the same way as the courts outside the temples at Tel Mevorakh and Tell Qasile. A large quantity of animal bones was found in the refuse pits which surrounded the temple buildings and cooking pots were found in the pits associated with Fosse Temple I.³⁶ It is often assumed that the insides of the Palestinian temples were normally only accessible to priests.³⁷ The temples with irregular plan and indirect access do not, however, seem to have been *adyta*. The platforms and the quantities of pottery and votive

³⁰ Cf. Albers 1996, 651.

³¹ 1983, 557-558.

³² Mazar 1980, 72; Stern 1984, 31.

³³ Mazar 1980, 72; Stern 1984, 31; Ottosson 1987, 133; Coogan 1987, 1-8.

³⁴ Mazar 1985A, 130.

³⁵ Mazar 1985A, 51, 130-131.

³⁶ Tufnell et al. 1940, 25.

³⁷ Stern 1984, 31; Mazar 1985A, 130.

offerings would seem to indicate that people could enter freely in order to leave their offerings.³⁸

In the Cult Centre at Mycenae there were two courtyards, one in front of the Temple and one in front of Tsountas' House Shrine. At Phylakopi, both the West and the East Shrine opened on to a small courtyard. There was also a courtyard at Tiryns. The fact that animal bones were found in connection with the cult buildings at Mycenae, Phylakopi, and Tiryns certainly suggests animal sacrifice and sacred meals (cf. Chapter Eight). In contrast to the Palestinian temple courtyards, the courtyards outside the Mycenaean cult buildings are very small. The courtyard in the sanctuary at Phylakopi is smaller in area than the main room of the West Shrine and therefore much too small to have been used for large gatherings. With the exception of Phylakopi, the courtyards outside the Mycenaean cult buildings are not structurally connected to the sanctuaries. It seems that they are more to be considered as open areas, being delimited by surrounding buildings and walls and as such they are comparable to the open areas often found in front of Mycenaean houses (cf. Chapter Six).

It is not clear which conclusions can be drawn from this survey. The examination of the architectural evidence does not provide any definite answers. It can be said that the similarities between the Palestinian temples and the Mycenaean cult buildings are not such as to make the question of some form of relationship certain. On the other hand, nor can the differences between them be said to be such as to decisively exclude all forms of influence (Tables 11, 12). As has already been pointed out by Schäfer, however, the similarities are very general. The differences in the position of the entrance and in the appearance and function of the cult focus suggest that there is no real reason to believe that the buildings in question belong to the same architectural tradition. On the other hand one might also consider the differences as insignificant particularities of the individual buildings. It is worth remarking in this connection that no definite parallels can be found between Mycenaean and Palestinian architecture in general. Palestinian domestic architecture for instance is conceived according to different principles from

³⁸ Cf. Tufnell et al. 1940, 43.

Mycenaean domestic architecture.³⁹ Mycenaean palatial architecture seems also to have developed locally.⁴⁰

Conclusions which can be drawn from the siting and orientation of Mycenaean and Palestinian temples with irregular plan and indirect access are equally uncertain. There are certain common characteristics. The cult buildings at Phylakopi, Mycenae, and Tiryns were all built close to fortification walls and it seems not unlikely that this had some significance (cf. Chapter Eight). In Palestine, the Fosse Temples at Lachish were built within the Middle Bronze Age fortifications. These had, however, gone out of use at the time of the construction of Fosse Temple I and there may be no real parallel with the siting of the Mycenaean cult buildings. Both the Mycenaean cult buildings and the Palestinian temples with irregular plan and indirect access show that the orientation of the entrance was of no significance. Nor does it seem that the orientation of the cult focus was of any importance in the Mycenaean cult buildings. Within the Palestinian temples, on the other hand, the orientation of the cult focus quite possibly did have some significance. In the temples at Lachish, Beth Shan, Tel Mevorakh, and Tell Qasile, the cult focus was oriented towards cardinal points, although not the same one.

More definite conclusions can possibly be drawn from a consideration of the finds. Hardly anything was found within the Palestinian temples with asymmetrical plan and indirect access which could suggest a Mycenaean connection, either influence from Mycenaean cult practices, or that the temples were used by Mycenaeans. A possible connection to Mycenaean religious practices is suggested by two triton shells, one found inside Temple 200, the other (large fragment) in the courtyard of Temple 319 (Stratum XII) at Tell Qasile. Triton shells have not been found in Bronze Age sanctuaries in Palestine. Triton shells are well known in Aegean cult contexts, and in fact two triton shells were found in the sanctuary at Phylakopi and one was found in the Cult Room at Methana (cf. Catalogue A, Chapter Eight). The triton shell found within the temple at Tell Qasile was worked indicating that it would have been used in connection with ritual activity.⁴¹

More interesting in this connection are the finds found in connection with the Mycenaean cult buildings. Several types of objects with an

³⁹ Ben-Dov 1992, 99-104.

⁴⁰ Kilian 1987, 36.

⁴¹ Mazar 1980, 118.

eastern provenance were found within the Mycenaean cult buildings which could suggest a Levantine connection. These objects include scarabs, carved ivory pieces, and metal figurines of Canaanite gods. Scarabs were found in Room Gamma and Room 19 in the Cult Centre at Mycenae, as well as at Phylakopi (found in a level dating to the period after the collapse of the sanctuary, but presumably it had originally been deposited within the sanctuary).⁴² In themselves, scarabs are not really useful in answering questions of direct influence because they could have various provenances. They may have reached the Aegean from the Levant, but it is also possible that they were imported from Egypt, or they may have come via Cyprus or they may have reached the Mainland from Crete. Scarabs have also been found in other contexts in the Aegean e.g. in tombs at Mycenae, Prosymna, Perati, Pylos.⁴³ On the other hand, it is perhaps more important to note that scarabs were found within the Palestinian temples with asymmetrical plan and indirect access (Fosse Temples I, II, III, Beth Shan), so it can be said that scarabs occurred as votives both in the Levant and in the Aegean. Also of interest is the small ivory male head from Room 31 of the Room with the Fresco Complex; the piece has been said to be Syrian, and is therefore not directly relevant. It is, however, one of the very few ivory pieces found on the Mainland which has a definite Eastern provenance and this may be significant in some way. Again, it is perhaps more significant that carved ivory pieces occur as votives in Palestinian temples with asymmetrical plan and indirect access as well as in Mycenaean cult buildings.

The most important class of objects indicating a Canaanite connection found in the Mycenaean cult buildings are the metal figurines of Canaanite gods, both because they have a specific provenance to Palestine and because they have a clear cultic significance in Palestine. These figurines can be interpreted in several ways: 1) they were deposited by Canaanites and the same interpretation is to be placed on them as on those found in Palestinian contexts; 2) they were deposited by Mycenaeans and a) had a definite religious significance, possibly closely related to their original religious significance or b) were without any particular religious significance. Negbi would connect these figurines with the development of the architectural form of Mycenaean cult buildings. She suggests that

⁴² Renfrew 1985, 42, 300-301.

⁴³ Cline 1994, 144-147.

the metal figurines of Canaanite gods could have been cult effigies.⁴⁴ A similar suggestion is made by Lambrou-Phillipson who says that these figurines must have been used for cult purposes and since it seems improbable that people in the Aegean would use foreign idols, it seems logical to assume that the figurines were used by foreigners.⁴⁵

The occurrence of two metal figurines of Canaanite gods in connection with the sanctuary at Phylakopi is certainly interesting. One was found to the east of the East Shrine in a level dated to the time of the collapse of the sanctuary; the other figurine was found to the south of the courtyard in the debris from the abandonment of the sanctuary.⁴⁶ It seems reasonable to assume that their original context had been within one of the buildings of the sanctuary. Although the Canaanite figurines found at Phylakopi come from late contexts, they have Palestinian parallels dating to Late Bronze I-II. Metal figurines of Canaanite gods have been found in sanctuaries and other cult locations in Syria and Palestine and their original cultic function is assured; they have been interpreted as miniature replicas of wooden cult statues. Although it is not impossible that certain examples could have functioned as cult images, they are in most cases likely to have been votives as the majority of those which come from secure contexts have been found in cult deposits.⁴⁷ Two metal figurines of Canaanite gods were found in Fosse Temple I at Lachish and one was found in the temple at Beth Shan. If the figurines of Canaanite gods found at Phylakopi are to be interpreted as indicating a Canaanite involvement in Mycenaean sanctuaries they are most likely to have been votives. It is possible to suggest that they were deposited within the sanctuaries by Canaanites and represent some form of Canaanite involvement in the sanctuary at Phylakopi. Phylakopi was an important harbour and therefore Canaanites traders travelling in the Aegean are likely to have stopped at Phylakopi and the figurines may have been left in the sanctuary by Canaanite traders passing by.⁴⁸ There is no evidence, however, for any kind of permanent Canaanite presence at Phylakopi or even that Canaanites were regular visitors. It is therefore very unlikely

⁴⁴ 1988, 357. J. Muhly (1984, 49) agrees that there might be a particular connection between the Mycenaean sanctuaries and the Canaanite bronze figurines found in the Aegean.

⁴⁵ 1990, 155.

⁴⁶ Renfrew 1985, 304-306.

⁴⁷ Negbi 1976, 2, 141.

⁴⁸ Cf. Gilmour 1993, 134.

that Canaanite traders had any part in the construction of the cult buildings.

It is also possible that the bronze figurines of Canaanite gods may only have an indirect connection with Canaanite religious practices. The bronze figurines of an armed god are generally taken to represent the Syrian god Reshep, a chthonic deity associated with fertility as well as pestilence and death, and it is possible that the Syrian god was assimilated to a Mycenaean god.⁴⁹ On the other hand, the fact that bronze figurines of armed Canaanite gods were found in a cultic context in the Aegean does not necessarily signify religious influence on the cult practised in the Mycenaean cult buildings and they cannot be used to demonstrate that a war god was worshipped in the Aegean. Cult objects from one culture can retain a general religious significance when transported to another culture, although the specific religious meanings attached to them in their place of origin may be unknown or may have changed considerably. Possibly, there was no specific religious significance attached to the figurines themselves and they had been deposited as votives in a sanctuary because they were exotic objects of some value. Furthermore, the metal figurines of Canaanite gods are small and easily portable and did not necessarily arrive in the Aegean by a direct route from the Levant. Although several such figurines have been found in the Aegean, apart from the ones found at Phylakopi, only two figurines, one found at Mycenae, the other at Tiryns come from definite Bronze Age contexts. The two figurines from Mycenae and Tiryns come both from LH IIIC contexts which were not associated with cult. As already noted, however, a metal figurine of a Canaanite god found on Delos may have come from a Mycenaean cult building. The significance of the two metal figurines of Canaanite gods found in connection with the cult buildings at Phylakopi is accordingly difficult to evaluate.

From within the Mycenaean cult buildings the most significant category of finds are the clay figures and figurines. These are both anthropomorphic and theriomorphic. No similar class of objects has been found in the Palestinian temples with asymmetrical plan and indirect access. Differences are also seen in the pottery. Large amounts of pottery were found in the Palestinian temples. At Tel Mevorakh, in Fosse Temples II

⁴⁹ Reshep was in the Archaic period assimilated to Apollo Alasiotes in Cyprus as is evident from a Greek/Phoenician inscription found at Tamassos. It is not certain whether this assimilation goes back to the Bronze Age. More likely, it is a result of the Cypro-Phoenician milieu which developed in Cyprus towards the end of the Bronze Age and beginning of the Iron Age (Sophocleous 1985, 148-149).

and III and at Tell Qasile, much of this pottery consisted of bowls which indicates that bowls were used in some ritual activity. No similar pattern can be found in the pottery from the Mycenaean cult buildings, although pottery connected with drinking occurred in all of them.⁵⁰

No definite religious connections between Canaan and the Aegean can be established. G. Wright has suggested that there was a basic affinity between the popular religion of Canaan and the Aegean and mentions that the tree and pillar cults as well as the peak cults in the Aegean correspond to rural sanctuaries of Canaanite religion which are mentioned in the Old Testament.⁵¹ However, whatever the case may have been on Crete, there is no real evidence for any tree and pillar cult on the Mainland. Peak Sanctuaries are also a feature of Minoan cult and no such sanctuary has been identified on the Mainland.⁵² The sanctuary on the Kynortion hill near Epidauros has been compared to Minoan Peak Sanctuaries,⁵³ but has been shown by Hägg to be essentially Mycenaean in character.⁵⁴ It can, however, be considered an open air sanctuary and other possible open air sanctuaries on the Mainland have been identified.⁵⁵ However, these are not conspicuously similar to sanctuaries identified as Canaanite rural sanctuaries, and rural or open air sanctuaries occur in many cultures.⁵⁶ Moreover, Canaanite open air or high place sanctuaries have been difficult to identify.⁵⁷

Animal sacrifice was part of the ritual carried out in the Canaanite temples as shown by finds of bones and ash. The remains of animal bones and ash found in connection with the altar at Kynortion show that animal sacrifice was of importance there; animal sacrifice may also have formed part of the ritual activity of the Mycenaean cult buildings as bones have been reported from them (cf. Chapter Eight). Bergquist sees parallels in the sacrificial practice of the Levant and the Aegean in the Bronze and Iron Ages, and suggests that the sacrificial practices of the Aegean were influenced by or related to those of the Near East.⁵⁸ That there was a

⁵⁰ Cf. Albers 1996, 658.

⁵¹ 1985, 487-488.

⁵² Any close comparison between Canaanite High Places and Minoan Peak Sanctuaries has been rejected by Peatfield (in the discussion to Watrous 1987, 70), as well as by Karetsou (lecture at the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, 25/ii/92).

⁵³ Lambrinoudakis 1981.

⁵⁴ 1984, 121; 1985A, 207-210; 1995.

⁵⁵ Hägg 1968, 1981; Kilian 1990.

⁵⁶ Cf. Peatfield 1990, 123.

⁵⁷ Fritz 1993.

⁵⁸ 1993.

Levantine influence on the tradition of burnt animal sacrifice in the historical period of Greece seems very plausible.⁵⁹ In the Bronze Age, burnt animal sacrifice does not seem to have existed either in the Levant or in the Aegean. It is, however, more difficult to suppose that the Aegean was influenced by the Levant in its sacrificial practice in the Bronze Age. The Middle Helladic altar at Nisakouli shows that animal sacrifice was a part of Mycenaean religious practices before one can suppose any form of contact between the Canaanites and the Mycenaeans. Cult activity, including animal sacrifice, at Kynortion may also go back into the Middle Helladic period. Moreover, animal sacrifice is the central ritual act in many religions, behind which there can lie widely differing belief systems, and Burkert has argued that sacrificial ritual lies at the origin of all religion.⁶⁰

The fact that snake figurines have been found both in the Temple in the Cult Centre at Mycenae and in the temple of Stratum X at Tel Mevorakh cannot be used to indicate similarity of cult. Subject matter apart, the figurines are not similar; the examples found at Mycenae are coiled, made of clay while the snake from Tel Mevorakh is almost straight and made of bronze. Snake figurines and snake depictions are common finds in Canaanite sanctuaries from the late Middle Bronze Age to the end of the Iron Age and the figurine from Tel Mevorakh can be compared to examples from Hazor, Gezer, and Timna.⁶¹

There seems to be only one instance for which a case can be made for a definite religious borrowing from the East in the Aegean. This is the *Potnia Theron* motif which has been recognised on an ivory from Mycenae (MN 2473) and which can be compared to the well-known ivory pyxis lid found at Minet el-Beida. The motif consists of a seated female figure with upraised arms holding bunches of vegetation in both hands, providing nourishment for animals. The motif of a divine figure holding vegetation is Mesopotamian in origin and in the East certainly had a religious meaning, connected with fertility and the concept of the gods as givers of life.⁶² According to Poursat, the ivory from Mycenae is a Syrian import;⁶³ it may therefore not have had any particular religious meaning

⁵⁹ See also Burkert 1985, 53.

⁶⁰ 1983, 3.

⁶¹ Stern 1977, 90; reply to letter in the *Biblical Archaeologist* 43, 1980, 5-6; Rothenberg 1972, 173.

⁶² Kantor 1960, 23-24; Frankfort 1939; Metzger 1983, 54-94.

⁶³ 1977, 231-232.

for the Mycenaeans. It does not come from a definite context at Mycenae. The pyxis lid from Minet el-Beida, although clearly Mycenaeanising in style is considered by Kantor and Poursat to be a Syrian work.⁶⁴

The female figure holding sheaves of corn portrayed on the lower panel of the fresco from Room 31 of The Room with the Fresco Complex at Mycenae can be seen as similar to the figures on the ivory plaques from Mycenae and Minet el-Beida and shows that the motif of a female figure carrying vegetation in both hands and accompanied by an animal did have a particular religious significance for the Mycenaeans. Very slight traces of an animal are preserved on either side of her; the fact that there is only one column to the left of her can be taken to indicate that the figure is outside a building to which her back is turned. She has recently been restored by N. Marinatos as a priestess, accompanied by a flying griffin,⁶⁵ walking towards the platform, interpreted as an altar, which she is facing.⁶⁶ Considerations of space, however, make it more likely that she is sitting as originally suggested by Taylour.⁶⁷ The figure depicted on the fresco at Mycenae differs in some ways from the figures on the ivory plaques in her clothes. The figures on the ivory plaques are bare-breasted, while the woman on the fresco wears a short-sleeved white tunic and a grey mantle knotted over one shoulder. A similar mantle is worn by the so-called priestess from the West House at Akrotiri. She also wears a distinctive headdress, compared by Taylour to that worn by some of the women on the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus.⁶⁸ In addition there are traces of only one animal. The similarities, however, are such that it seems likely that the scene from the Room with the Fresco Complex is a variation on the one on the ivory plaque.

The hypothesis that the Palestinian temples in question were built and used by Mycenaeans almost certainly presupposes that there were Mycenaean trade settlements in Palestine. Although it is certainly possible that Mycenaean trade enclaves did exist outside the Aegean, there is no direct evidence to suggest that Mycenaean traders had established themselves on a permanent or even semi-permanent basis in Palestine. The large and widespread amount of Mycenaean pottery found in

⁶⁴ Kantor 1960, 23; Poursat 1977, 232; see, however, Gates (1992) who argues that it is a Mycenaean piece.

⁶⁵ Restored by Rehak (1992, 54-57) as a lion on account of the yellow colour.

⁶⁶ 1988, 245-251.

⁶⁷ 1969, 96; Rehak (1992, 51) agrees with N. Marinatos and restores her as standing.

⁶⁸ 1969, 96.

Palestine was not necessarily used by Mycenaeans rather than Palestinians, and there are no other indications of a possible Mycenaean presence in the Levant. Since, however, comparative evidence shows that trade settlements established in foreign communities could assume a number of forms, the possibility of one or several Mycenaean trade enclaves in the Levant cannot be excluded, even though it may not be possible to prove archaeologically.⁶⁹ As mentioned, both the temples at Tel Mevorakh and at Lachish were located away from habitation, a location which has been explained by suggesting that they were road sanctuaries used by travellers. Such an isolated location might seem unlikely if these temples were used by Mycenaean residents in Palestine, since foreign trade settlements were usually established in important settlements of the host country,⁷⁰ but it could also be suggested that the Mycenaeans were not permitted to build within the city walls. The extra-mural location of the temples at Lachish and Tel Mevorakh could very well indicate outsiders, people not fully integrated into the social context of the Palestinian city state.⁷¹ Since the Palestinian temples with irregular plan and indirect access occur already at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age, the hypothesis that they were built and used by Mycenaeans implicates that Mycenaeans were established on a more or less permanent basis in Palestine as early as the beginning of the Late Bronze Age which could seem very unlikely (cf. Chapter Four for a review of the evidence for contact between the Levant and the Aegean in the Late Bronze Age), even if the typological connection between the Philistine temples at Tell Qasile and the temples at Lachish and Tel Mevorakh makes a Mycenaean origin for the latter attractive. However, despite certain similarities in the architecture, the finds in particular suggest different categories of users for the Mycenaean cult buildings and the Palestinian Temples with irregular plan and indirect access. Therefore, although a plausible explanation of the isolated location of the temples at Lachish and Tel Mevorakh is that they were built and used by outsiders of some sort or by foreigners, it is not very likely that these foreigners were Mycenaeans. Considering the lack of Mycenaean character of the finds as well as the uncertain nature of the evidence for more or less permanent Mycenaean trade establishments

⁶⁹ Curtin 1984, 5. For a discussion on the identification of foreign enclaves see also Branigan, 1984; Cline 1994, 50-55.

⁷⁰ Curtin 1984, 2.

⁷¹ Cf. Mazar 1992, 182, fnnt 78; 1993A, 614.

in Palestine, without more certain evidence any theory suggesting that the Palestinian temples with asymmetrical plan and indirect access were Mycenaean would be far-fetched.

Negbi has suggested that Canaanites who visited the Aegean were responsible for the architectural form of the Mycenaean cult buildings; she based her arguments on architectural and topographical similarities between the Mycenaean cult buildings and the Palestinian temples with irregular plan and indirect access as well as on the finds of the metal figurines of Canaanite gods at Phylakopi.⁷² As mentioned above, Negbi suggests that these figurines served the same functions as those found within Palestinian and Syrian temples and that such figurines found in Mycenaean contexts, had originally been deposited in cult buildings in the Aegean by Canaanite worshippers. Specifically, by considering the layout and the size of the East Shrine at Phylakopi, as well as the metal figurines of Canaanite gods which are erroneously stated by Negbi to have been found within the East Shrine, Negbi suggests that the East Shrine was reserved for foreign cult practised by Canaanite seafarers. In what way such a Canaanite involvement might have come about is not discussed in any detail by Negbi. Fragments of human and animal clay figures show that the finds from the East Shrine are comparable to those from the West Shrine and the other Mycenaean cult buildings. Although certain categories of finds from the Mycenaean cult buildings could indicate a Canaanite connection, their significance can be interpreted in various ways, and in general, the finds from the Mycenaean cult buildings show quite clearly that Canaanites were not the primary users of them. In conclusion, it is clear beyond reasonable doubt that the hypothesis that either the Palestinian temples with asymmetrical plan and indirect access were Mycenaean or that the Mycenaean cult buildings were built and used by Canaanites can be ruled out.

It could also be suggested that one should not speak of separate Mycenaean and Palestinian traditions in sacred architecture and discuss the occurrence of the Palestinian temples and the Mycenaean cult buildings in the context of a greater or lesser degree of influence; rather one should consider both the Mycenaean and Palestinian cult buildings as representatives of the same general eastern Mediterranean building traditions. This can be seen as a general diffusionist theory where the question

⁷² Negbi 1988, 357; cf. Renfrew 1985, 303-310.

of specific contacts can be largely ignored. Cultural interaction is assumed to have existed in some form although the precise forms of contact may be difficult to document while the question of the origin of specific features may be impossible to determine and to a great extent regarded as irrelevant.⁷³ Such a theory could explain the general rather than close similarities between the two groups of buildings, their occurrence at differing dates in the two areas, as well as the different categories of users indicated by the varying nature of the finds. With regard to the Eastern Mediterranean in the Late Bronze Age, such a suggestion completely lacks any corroborative evidence. Furthermore, differences in domestic and palatial architecture make it unlikely that the Aegean and the Levant belonged to the same architectural tradition as regards religious architecture.

Consequently if there is a connection between the Palestinian temples and the Mycenaean cult buildings, the only tenable approach is that it must be seen as a question of influence either from Palestinian architecture on Mycenaean architecture or of Mycenaean influence on Palestinian architecture. Whether this influence should be seen as coming from the Levant to the Aegean or from the Aegean to the Levant must now be considered. That Palestinian sacred architecture was open to foreign influence is suggested by the Egyptian character of the temples of Strata VII and VI at Beth Shan and the Summit Temple in Area P at Lachish. Contacts between Egypt and Canaan, however, were of a different nature than those between Canaan and the Aegean since Egypt controlled some of the Palestinian city states, and Egyptian influences were generally pervasive in the Levant. Since temples with asymmetrical plan and indirect access are found in Palestine from the beginning of the Late Bronze Age, there are great chronological difficulties in suggesting that they were influenced by Mycenaean cult buildings. Mazar's conclusion that it is very likely that this type of temple developed in Canaan in the Late Bronze Age is the most plausible based on the evidence at present available.⁷⁴

It has been definitely established that there were strong Mycenaean elements in various aspects of Philistine culture.⁷⁵ Most important is the LH IIIC1b or Monochrome pottery found on a number of Palestinian sites

⁷³ G. Wright (1985, 486) speaks of a Levantine koine with examples in the Aegean.

⁷⁴ Mazar 1992, 182.

⁷⁵ T. Dothan 1968, 1973, 1981; Mazar 1985B, 1989.

and the fact that the development of a native Philistine pottery style owed much to Mycenaean influences.⁷⁶ Free-standing hearths have been found at Tell Qasile and at Ekron; such hearths are unknown in Canaanite architectural tradition and probably derived from an Aegean tradition.⁷⁷ In addition, ritual vessels, the Ashdoda figurines,⁷⁸ as well as tomb plans as exemplified by the rock-cut tombs at Tell el-Fara (S) have been attributed to Mycenaean influence.⁷⁹ It should be noted, however that Mycenaean influences on Philistine funerary architecture have not been universally accepted, and the tombs at Tell el-Fara (S) have been seen as basically belonging to local Canaanite tradition, and that even if there might be foreign elements, they should be ascribed to Cyprus rather than to the Aegean.⁸⁰ The dromoi of the tombs at Tell el-Fara (S) are very short with steep steps and can be compared to burial caves of the Middle and Late Bronze Ages in Cyprus; stepped dromoi do not occur in Mycenaean chamber tombs. In addition typical features such as benches along the walls and the depression in the centre of the burial chambers are rare in Mycenaean chamber tombs but are common in Cypriote burial caves.⁸¹ The settlement at Tell Qasile can be related to the establishment of the Philistines in Palestine and Mycenaean influences on the temples would not be unexpected and it is possible that the temples at Tell Qasile incorporate Mycenaean elements. Since the early Iron Age temples at Tell Qasile show marked similarities to the Late Bronze Age temples at Tel Mevorakh, Lachish, and Beth Shan and are to be classified with these, none of the Mycenaean cult buildings can be regarded as a prototype for the temples at Tell Qasile; if there are Mycenaean architectural influences, they must be limited to isolated architectural features and not to the basic concept.⁸²

That there may have been influence from the Aegean on Canaanite religious architecture was apparently first discussed by Yeivin

⁷⁶ The LH IIIC1b pottery found in Palestine was made locally as shown by clay analysis and not imported from the Aegean (Hankey 1982; Gunneweg et al. 1986, 264).

⁷⁷ Mazar 1986, 3-5; 1989; T. & M. Dothan 1992, 242-245; T. Dothan 1995, 42.

⁷⁸ These are seated female figurines with stylistic affinities to Mycenaean figurines and were first identified in Stratum XII at Ashdod (T. & M. Dothan 1992, 154-155). A fragment of such a figurine was found in Stratum X at Tell Qasile (Mazar 1985A, 126).

⁷⁹ T. Dothan 1968, 1010; 1973, 187-188; 1981, 260; 1985A, 165-176; Waldbaum 1966.

⁸⁰ Brug 1985, 152-153; Stiebing 1970, 139-143; Loffreda 1968, 244-287; Bunimovitz 1990, 216-217; Mazar 1989, 102; Gonen 1992A, 23-24; 1992B.

⁸¹ Gonen 1992A, 24.

⁸² Cf. Mazar 1981, 105.

in 1967.⁸³ Yeivin basing his arguments on the fact that Canaanite temples seem to undergo a change in orientation at the end of the Bronze Age, conjectured that this might be attributed to Aegean elements. Yeivin's article was written before the discovery of the cult buildings at Mycenae, Phylakopi, and Tiryns; he therefore based his arguments on the hypothesis that the predominantly east/west orientation of Greek temples in the historical period continued a Mycenaean tradition. The evidence from the Mycenaean cult buildings does not support this theory since, as has been already noted, the orientation of the Mycenaean cult buildings is inconsistent and seemingly mainly determined by topographical considerations. In addition, it is questionable whether a change in orientation did in fact occur in Canaanite temples at the end of the Bronze Age. Yeivin's observation is based only on the evidence from Beth Shan where the north/south orientation of the temples of Levels IX, VII, and VI is changed to an east/west orientation in the temples of Level V. Mazar's overview of the orientation of the cult focus in Levantine temples shows that there is no consistent orientation of Palestinian temples in the Bronze and early Iron Ages, although perhaps a general orientation to the west is preferred.⁸⁴

Mazar compares the use of posts in the temple of Stratum X at Tell Qasile to the Temple in the Cult Centre at Mycenae and tentatively suggests that it may be an Aegean element.⁸⁵ On the other hand, as also pointed out by Mazar, Aegean influence is made unlikely by the fact that posts are not found in the first two temples of the settlement and one can point to the resemblance with the Fosse Temples at Lachish in the use of posts to support the roof.⁸⁶ In Strata XI and X at Tell Qasile, there was a small shrine associated with the larger temple. The arrangement of two cult buildings within a sacred area is seen also at Beth Shan, Stratum Upper VI (Stratum V) which is contemporary with Strata XI-X at Tell Qasile.⁸⁷ It is considered by Mazar to be foreign to the Canaanite tradi-

⁸³ 1968.

⁸⁴ 1980, 71. Ottosson, (1980, 117) suggests that the orientation of Palestinian temples was chosen in each case to accord with the system of streets and gates.

⁸⁵ 1980, 70; 1981, 105.

⁸⁶ 1980, 64.

⁸⁷ According to Mazar, who directs the new excavations at Beth Shan, the double temple complex which was dated to Stratum V by the original excavators should be dated to the last phase of Stratum VI as an earlier date fits better with the material recovered from the temples (1993B, 221-222, 228).

tion.⁸⁸ Mazar suggests that there is a close similarity between the layout of the sanctuary at Phylakopi and the temples of Strata XI and X at Tell Qasile. In both cases there are two cult buildings, one of which is very much smaller than the other and therefore possibly subordinate in some way or dedicated to a lesser deity. There are also differences. Shrine 300 at Tell Qasile is a two-roomed building while the East Shrine at Phylakopi consists of only one room. Furthermore, at Phylakopi, the two cult buildings share the same courtyard while at Tell Qasile the entrance to Shrine 300 faces a different direction from that of Temples 200 and 131 and in Stratum X, the two cult buildings had separate courtyards with separate entrances from the street. It is very unlikely that there is any Mycenaean influence in the temple area at Beth Shan considering that Beth Shan lay outside the area settled by the Philistines.⁸⁹ The two temples of Stratum Upper VI (Stratum V) are monumental buildings and very different from Mycenaean cult buildings although they are difficult to place within a Canaanite tradition of temple building.⁹⁰ In summary, based on the Mycenaean connections of the Philistines and the similarity between the layout of the sacred areas at Tell Qasile and Phylakopi, it is possible to suggest that the combination of more than one temple is a Mycenaean element. On the other hand, it is equally possible to suggest that the development of the sacred area at Tell Qasile can be attributed to traditions, possibly foreign, already present in Palestine before the arrival and settlement of the Philistines, which can be seen at Beth Shan in Stratum Upper VI (Stratum V) and possibly elsewhere in the Levant. The cult objects from the temples at Tell Qasile indicate on the whole a continuation of Canaanite and Egyptian traditions.⁹¹

Possible Aegean influences on the architecture have also been suggested for the afore-mentioned cult area of Strata V/IV at Ekron.⁹² As at Tell Qasile, definite Mycenaean architectural elements cannot be distinguished, although one could suggest an Aegean origin for the presence of a hearth in a ritual connection. None of the Mycenaean sanctuaries were

⁸⁸ 1989, 97; 1992, 182. Negbi (1989) disagrees and argues that double sanctuaries are found in the Levant also in the Bronze Age. She discusses examples at Alalakh and Kamid el-Loz, the architecture of which she compares to the temples at Lachish, Tel Mevorakh, and Tell Qasile.

⁸⁹ The material culture of the city of Stratum Upper VI is mainly Canaanite (Mazar 1993B, 223, 228-229).

⁹⁰ Mazar 1992, 180-181.

⁹¹ Mazar 1980, 119-121; 1981, 105; T. Dothan 1981.

⁹² Seymour Gitin: Lecture at the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, 13/ii/90; T. Dothan 1995, 48.

enclosed in a larger complex.⁹³ None of the Philistine sanctuaries for which Aegean influence has been suggested were built in the first phase of Philistine settlement in Palestine. It is possible that the Philistines developed their sacred architecture only after their arrival in Palestine.⁹⁴ Moreover, the first temple at Tell Qasile was of an entirely different type from the later temples for which Mycenaean parallels have been suggested; the temple of Stratum XII was a small one-roomed building and has been compared to the small temple in Area C at Hazor.⁹⁵ The earliest evidence for the cult activity of the Philistines comes from Ashdod. In Stratum XIIIb, the first Iron Age city and probably to be associated with the settlement of the Philistines, a cult area was identified in Area G.⁹⁶ It consisted of an open air sanctuary with a square structure made of plastered bricks and a stone column base in reuse. Both the brick structure and the column base were covered in sherds and animal bones and there were traces of burning on the column base. It was suggested that they should be identified as an altar and the base of a cult image.⁹⁷ A cult area was also identified in the next phase (Stratum XII) in Area H. It consisted of an apsidal brick structure with a rectangular depression. It was situated close to a small courtyard where there was a plastered brick structure which may have been an altar for offerings.⁹⁸ The cultic character was clearly indicated by the finds associated with it. Neither of these installations are comparable to anything found in Mycenaean Greece, although perhaps comparisons with Cypriote open air sanctuaries are possible.

All in all, Philistine cult places show great variety and are not easily comparable to each other. Although the Philistine temples at Tell Qasile cannot easily be classified with other identified Philistine cult areas

⁹³ Burdajewicz (1990, 58) compares the sanctuary at Ekron to the sanctuary at Enkomi which was also located within a public building. He also mentions that some of the finds from the sanctuary at Ekron have Cypriote prototypes or parallels.

⁹⁴ The evidence concerning Philistine religion indicates that the Philistines worshipped Semitic gods, although it is possible that foreign gods were assimilated to local Canaanite gods rather than that the Philistines accepted the worship of local deities when they settled in Palestine (Brug 1985, 182; Mazar 1985A, 129).

⁹⁵ Mazar 1980, 62.

⁹⁶ M. Dothan (1989, 65-67; 1993; T. & M. Dothan 1992, 168-169) argues that there were two groups of sea peoples with an Aegean origin who settled at Ashdod. He suggests that the settlers of Stratum XIIIb are to be identified with the Anakim (mentioned in the Bible as the ancient inhabitants of Ashdod), that the Philistines arrived later in Stratum XIII and that their culture became dominant in Stratum XII. Although the Anakim and the Philistines can be seen as closely related, M. Dothan sees differences between the cult places of Strata XIIIb and XII as evidence of significant cultural differences. This view does not seem to have been accepted to any great extent and Mazar, on the other hand would associate the changes in material culture of Stratum XIII after the destruction of the Late Bronze Age city with the arrival of the Philistines (Mazar 1985B, 102; 1989, 96); see also Finkelstein 1995.

⁹⁷ M. Dothan 1989, 65; T. & M. Dothan 1992, 166-167.

⁹⁸ T. & M. Dothan 1992, 153; M. Dothan 1989, 66.

they can be seen in the context of Canaanite temples and accordingly the form of the temples can be attributed to the influence of local traditions. In Chapter Eight, it will be suggested that cult buildings and ritual connected with them were not essential to Mycenaean religious activity and perhaps were specifically connected with upper level religious activity; if this were the case, it would explain the lack of dominant Mycenaean elements in Philistine religious architecture.

Consequently, if there is a connection between the architecture of Mycenaean cult buildings and Palestinian temples with asymmetrical plan and indirect access, it can only be seen as a question of Palestinian influence on Mycenaean religious architecture. Arguments for Palestinian influence on the Mycenaean cult buildings can be based on the fact that the Mycenaean cult buildings first occur at a time when contacts between the Levant and the Aegean apparently become closer and more regular than they had been previously. The Levantine nature of some of the finds from the Mycenaean cult buildings could be seen as supporting evidence. The theory that Mycenaean cult buildings were influenced by certain Palestinian temples, however, raises several questions which are difficult to answer. How this influence would have been transmitted is a question which cannot be answered in any precise or satisfactory way. Furthermore, in suggesting that there may have been Palestinian influence on Mycenaean sacred architecture, it is necessary to attempt to answer the question of why the Mycenaeans should have based their cult buildings on Palestinian prototypes and what Canaanite influence meant to the Mycenaeans. If Palestinian influence on the Mycenaean cult buildings can be established, there is the question of whether this consisted only of a borrowing of architectural concepts or whether there was also Canaanite influence on Mycenaean religion.

CONTACTS BETWEEN THE LEVANT AND THE AEGEAN IN THE LATE BRONZE AGE¹

The theory that Mycenaean cult buildings were derived from Palestinian prototypes has been, in the main, based on certain similarities in the groundplans. The precise nature of such a transmission of influences, however, has not been gone into in any detail. An important aspect of this theory concerns the extent and nature of the relationship between Palestine and the Aegean in the Late Bronze Age.

Mazar suggested that close trading contacts might have been responsible for the transmission of the architectural form of the Palestinian temples to the Aegean. In order for a convincing argument to be made that the Mycenaeans developed their sacred architecture from Palestinian prototypes, it is necessary to show that contacts between the two areas were of such a nature that this could have been at least possible, if not probable. In order for an architectural form to be transmitted from one culture to another, there must have been close interaction between the two cultures. More specifically, in this particular case, if the Mycenaean cult buildings are to be considered as belonging to the group of Palestinian temples with irregular plan, Mycenaeans must have been travelling to Palestine in the relevant period. Evidence for regular contact between Palestine and the Aegean is largely lacking, however, for the time preceding LH IIIA1/LHIIIA2. Considering Canaanite/Mycenaean relations as a whole in the Late Bronze Age, it is difficult to come to any definite conclusions concerning the extent of direct regular contact between Mycenaeans and Canaanites.

¹ A version of this chapter was read at a seminar on *Trade and Production in Pre-monetary Greece* held at the Swedish Institute in Athens, October 26-27, 1991, and has been published in *Hydra*, 1992.

Early contacts between Greece and the Levant

That there was contact of some sort between the Mycenaeans and the East, going back to a fairly early period, is evident. There is a certain amount of evidence showing that the Mycenaeans had contact at least with Syria, from the time of the Shaft Grave period, as will be apparent from this brief overview. Few of the objects found in the Shaft Graves, however, are likely to have been actual imports from the East, although this may have been the case for some of the jewellery. A certain amount of wire jewellery was found in the Shaft Graves which could possibly be imported from Syria or Mesopotamia. Similar spiral-ended jewellery from the same period has also been found at Thebes and at Pylos, indicating that the type was fairly widespread and popular in the Aegean.² A few glass beads of a type found in Shaft Grave I, Chamber Tomb 516 at Mycenae, in Tholos A at Kakovatos and in Tholos IV at Pylos are of Mesopotamian or Syro-Palestinian origin.³ Three jugs from Tomb VI, Grave Circle A seem to have been inspired by Cypriote or Levantine vessels; they are of MH shape, but decorated with birds in a bichrome black and red style. Both motifs and method of rendition are reminiscent of bichrome wheel-made ware found in Cyprus and the Levant in LB I contexts.⁴

From a somewhat later period one can mention the cylinder seals of Mesopotamian type found in Greece. One example has been found in Chamber Tomb 517 at Mycenae. The seal is of a type generally known as Mitannian and large numbers have been found at Nuzi in Iraq, at Tell Atchana, at Ras Shamra, and at Beth Shan. The cylinder from Mycenae is very similar to the Nuzi seals and can be dated to the middle of the fifteenth century BC on stylistic grounds. It was found along with LH I and LH II pottery.⁵

With the exception of a fragment of a Canaanite jar from Tsoungiza which may be from a LH II context, no Canaanite pottery from the early Mycenaean period has been found.⁶ A bronze shaft-hole axe found in the LH II tholos at Vapheio is of a Syro-Palestinian type.⁷

² Hood 1978, 201; Higgins 1961, 69.

³ Cline 1994, 137-138.

⁴ Merrillees 1974, 5.

⁵ Wace & Porada 1957, 200-204.

⁶ Cline 1994, 49, 172.

⁷ Cline 1994, 49, 224.

Grave Rho in Grave Circle B, dating to LH II, has no parallels in mainland Greece but is very similar to Syrian built tombs, particularly from the area of Ras Shamra. Some of these tombs are earlier than Grave Rho and the type had a long tradition in Syria. Corbelled-vault tombs first appeared at Ugarit in MB II and continued to be built and used in LB I and II.⁸ Mylonas considers the parallels so close that whoever built Grave Rho must have been working with Syrian prototypes in mind.⁹

The evidence from ivory and ivory working is also of significance in determining the extent of contact between the Levant and Greece. Carved ivory has been found in the Shaft Graves and the presence of ivory in the Aegean, by itself, would seem to imply connections with the East, since the most likely source of Mycenaean ivory was Syria, although Egypt cannot be entirely ruled out.¹⁰ In either case, the raw ivory could have reached the Mainland via Crete, since Mycenaean ivory working in its first stages is influenced by Minoan iconography.¹¹ This influence, however, does not come specifically from Minoan ivorywork, but rather from Minoan iconography and artistic conceptions in general. Only a few pieces can be dated to an early period and it is not until the LH IIIB period that ivory working in Greece becomes a truly popular industry.

Other minor arts show no traces of eastern influences. While faience was manufactured at several sites in Syria and Palestine, notably Byblos, Megiddo, Lachish, from an early period, the only outside influences that can be seen on the faience objects from the Shaft Graves are Minoan.¹² Similarly Mycenaean seals derive from Minoan prototypes.

Contacts that can be specifically localised to the south of Byblos are hard to establish before well into the LH IIIA period. What could possibly be Palestinian influences are discernible in two classes of Mycenaean objects in an earlier period.

The technique of niello-inlaying was in all probability an eastern technique which was introduced into the Aegean by the Mycenaeans. Examples of niello work have been found at Mycenae, Vapheio, and

⁸ Gonen 1992B, 155.

⁹ 1973A, 220-222.

¹⁰ Kantor 1960, 14; Hayward (1990), suggests that although some may have come from Syria, much of the ivory used by the Mycenaeans came from North Africa, while Egypt is not a likely source. De Hoff (1988), on the other hand, thinks that there is some connection between the first appearance of ivory on the Mainland and the re-establishment of Egyptian control over Nubia, when ivory as well as gold and other commodities began to flow into Egypt in the form of tribute (155-156).

¹¹ Poursat 1977, 226; Kantor 1960.

¹² Foster 1979, 120, 1981, 9-16.

Prosymna dating to LH I and LH II.¹³ Although not many examples have been found outside the Aegean, it is clear that the technique was not invented by the Mycenaeans, since earlier examples have been found in tombs at Byblos and at Shechem dating to the beginning of the eighteenth century. Since there have been no chemical analyses done on the Byblite and Egyptian objects, it is not absolutely certain that the black substance used is the same as Mycenaean niello. Xenaki-Sakellariou, therefore, does not entirely rule out the possibility that the exact composition of the niello used by the Mycenaeans might have been a Mycenaean invention.¹⁴ Even if this is the case, however, the Mycenaeans must have got the idea for this type of decoration from objects like those found at Byblos, so in this connection, the question of the composition of the niello used by the Mycenaeans could be said to have little relevance, although arguably technical similarities implies closer contact than artistic similarities alone. That niello-inlaying was not a technique practised by the Minoans seems quite certain from the fact that no examples have been found on Crete.¹⁵ Knowledge of niello-inlaying, whether of the technique or the method of decoration, could have come through North Syria although no examples have been found to date in Syria. However, since one of the daggers from the Shaft Graves portrays an Egyptian hunting scene, it is possible that the Mycenaeans did not acquire knowledge of niello-inlaying directly from Syria or Palestine but via Egypt. On the other hand, Egyptian iconography does not necessarily imply direct Egyptian influence; Syrian and Palestinian art was strongly influenced from Egypt, and Egyptian influences could therefore have come into the Aegean from the Levant. Roughly contemporary with the Mycenaean niello-work from the Shaft Graves are the axe and dagger from the Ahotep burial in Egypt dating to the beginning of the XVIII Dynasty. Taking into account the Aegean characteristics of the scene portrayed on the Egyptian dagger,¹⁶ one could also reason that the technique of niello-inlaying was introduced first into the Aegean and then from there into Egypt. This is perhaps not very probable considering the close connections between Egypt and Canaan at this time. Xenaki-Sakellariou suggests that after the destruction of the palace at Tell el-Ajjul by the campaign of Ahmose into

¹³ Kantor 1947, 65.

¹⁴ Xenaki-Sakellariou & Chaziliou 1989, 18-24.

¹⁵ E. Davis 1976, 3-6; Laffineur 1974, 5-37.

¹⁶ Kantor 1947, 64-65.

Palestine, the Egyptians might have brought Palestinian artisans back with them to Egypt; the niello objects found in Egypt could then be attributed to these artisans.¹⁷ Aegean artistic concepts are evident in other areas of Egyptian art in the XVIII Dynasty and their introduction is, therefore almost certainly, to be regarded as independent of the technique of niello-inlaying.

Another early group of objects where Palestinian influences can be detected are Type B swords. Swords classified as Type B are not found on Crete and, apart from a few examples found in the Dodecanese, are confined to the Mainland. The earliest example is from Grave Gamma in Grave Circle B, but most of the other examples known come from Grave Circle A. According to Sandars, this type of sword was a Mainland invention based partly on Syrian prototypes whose ancestry can be traced back to Palestine in the period of the XII Dynasty in Egypt.¹⁸ How Palestinian influences would have reached the Aegean is uncertain. Influence could have passed through North Syria which at this time had near links with Palestine.¹⁹ Sandars considers that knowledge of the Palestinian daggers passed into the Aegean from Syria where daggers of Palestinian type have been found in contexts of earlier date than the Shaft Grave swords. However, Hood has challenged this view of the ancestry of Type B swords and considers that they, like Type A swords, originated in Crete.²⁰

As can be seen, Mycenaean contacts with the Levant can be traced back to the Shaft Grave period. However, these contacts seem sporadic and incidental and do not in any way indicate regular trade between the two areas. There is in this period no Mycenaean influence on eastern art.²¹ In fact there is no evidence at all of Mycenaean influence on any aspect of Palestinian material culture. Harif has suggested that Mycenaean architectural influences can be detected in certain Middle Bronze Age buildings in Palestine.²² This seems unlikely and the suggested resemblances are not striking. To the extent that contacts can be localized in this period, they seem to be with North Syria. The few objects of Mesopotamian provenance found in Greece probably reached the Aegean

¹⁷ 1989, 23-24; There are parallels for the deportation of specialised craftsmen in the ancient Near East (Zaccagnini 1983, 257).

¹⁸ 1961, 22-24.

¹⁹ Sandars 1961, 17-29.

²⁰ 1980, 233-242.

²¹ Astour 1973, 17-27.

²² 1978, 101-106.

from ports in North Syria rather than through some other intermediary. Contact was possibly via Cyprus, although early contacts between the Aegean and Cyprus are not well attested before LH IIIA when enormous quantities of Mycenaean pottery are found all over the island.²³

Contacts in the LH III period between Palestine and the Aegean

The earliest Mycenaean cult buildings as yet identified are the Cult building at Methana which may date to LH IIIA1 and the West Shrine at Phylakopi which dates to LH IIIA2. Since, however, the West Shrine is almost certainly based on Mainland prototypes, it is enough to show that there was sufficient contact between the Mainland and the Levant, dating back to at least the beginning of the LH IIIA period, in order to show that Palestinian influence on Mycenaean sacred architecture was possible. The evidence for contact between Palestine and the Aegean is derived from Mycenaean objects found in the Levant and conversely from objects of Palestinian provenance found in Greece.

The most important class of evidence is the Mycenaean pottery found on a large number of Palestinian sites.²⁴ The evidence for contact between Palestine and Greece at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age is non-existent.²⁵ For the following period, there is some indication of contact as very small amounts of LH II pottery have been found on several sites in Palestine which could indicate that there were sporadic trade contacts between Greece and the Levant at that time.

It is, however, only in the LH IIIA period that Mycenaean pottery begins to be widely found on Palestinian sites. In some cases, it is represented only by a couple of sherds, but substantial amounts have been found on sites such as Ain Shems, Tell Beit Mirsim, Hazor. At this time Mycenaean pottery is reaching sites that lie at some distance from the coast and even east of the Jordan river.

In the LH IIIB period Mycenaean pottery in Palestine is even more widespread. On those sites where LH IIIA pottery was found, LH IIIB is also generally found and usually in larger amounts; it is also represented

²³ Catling 1964; Stubbings 1951, 26. Three LH II vases have been found in tombs at Ayia Irini on Cyprus (Pecorella 1977, 246-247).

²⁴ For list and further bibliography of Palestinian sites where Mycenaean pottery has been found see: Stubbings 1951, Hankey 1967, 107-147, Buchholz 1974, 414-439; Leonard 1994.

²⁵ A cup from Lachish is dated to LH I by Buchholz, but to LH II by Hankey.

for the first time on several sites. Large amounts of LH IIIB have been found at Tell Abu Hawam, Megiddo, Ashdod, Tell el-Arisch. At Tell Abu Hawam, the widest range of LH IIIB pottery in Palestine is represented suggesting that Tell Abu Hawam may well have been the main port of entry for Mycenaean pottery into that region.

There does not seem to be any distinctive pattern in the types of find spots for Mycenaean pottery in Palestine; it is represented in cemeteries, sanctuaries, and settlement sites.²⁶ Its popularity is demonstrated by the fact that it is widely imitated by local potters. Since both closed and open vessel types are represented it is clear that Mycenaean pottery was imported both for its own sake and as containers for various types of products such as perfumed oil, unguents, wine, or honey.²⁷ A few Mycenaean Psi figurines have also been found in Palestine.²⁸

The evidence from ivory working is of interest to the question of contact since Palestinian ivorywork shows Mycenaean influence. However, in contrast to North Syria, Palestinian ivorywork is not attested until the end of the Late Bronze Age which is too late to be of any significance in this connection. Pieces considered to be Mycenaean imports have been found at Megiddo and Lachish; these have been dated by stylistic criteria to the thirteenth century. Other pieces, although of local manufacture are greatly influenced by Mycenaean iconography. The blend of Eastern and Mycenaean elements in ivory carving can be observed at various sites in Syria and Palestine during the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries and attest to the existence of a Mycenaean school of ivory carving which influenced ivory carving in the Levant to a great extent.²⁹

Turning to the evidence of Canaanite objects found in Mycenaean contexts, there is comparatively little material in comparison with the amount of Mycenaean pottery imports into Palestine. On the other hand, the Syro-Palestinian material found in the Aegean is quite varied and includes pottery as well as objects of stone, ivory, faience and precious metals.³⁰ Apart from a certain number of the Canaanite jars, hardly any of the objects can be definitely said to be of Palestinian rather than Syrian

²⁶ Gregori & Palumbo 1986, 367.

²⁷ Leonard 1981, 87-101.

²⁸ Tell Abu Hawam, Lachish, Ashdod, Tell el-Hesi. Three Mycenaean bovine figures have also been found at Tell Abu Hawam (Leonard 1994, 137-141).

²⁹ Kantor 1947, 85-86; 1956, 153-174; 1960, 17-25; Barnett 1939, 449.

³⁰ Cline 1994, 49, and Catalogue.

origin. Two important groups of objects are the Canaanite jars and the metal figurines of Canaanite gods.

At present twenty-seven Canaanite jars have been found in Mainland Greece, from both LH IIIA and LH IIIB contexts; Canaanite jars have been found in Asine, Pylos, Menidi, Mycenae, Argos, Tiryns, Thebes, and Athens.³¹ The jars found in Greece are of a type that is very common in both Syria and Palestine and cannot in every case be specified as coming from any particular locality, but may have been made in different Canaanite centres.³² It has, however, been recently stated that all of the Canaanite jars found in Greece came from the area of Tell Dor in Palestine.³³

Metal figurines of Canaanite gods have been found at various locations in Greece. Two have been found on the Mainland and come from LH IIIC contexts, although their date of manufacture is probably of a much earlier date.³⁴ These two figurines show a closer resemblance to examples from Ras Shamra, rather than from Palestine.³⁵ As previously mentioned two figurines were found in the vicinity of the sanctuary at Phylakopi (see Chapter One). The figurine found in an eighth century context at Delos could also have reached the Aegean in the Bronze Age. Its date of manufacture has been considered to be the fourteenth to thirteenth century.³⁶

At Thebes forty cylinder seals were found associated with LH IIIB pottery. Only very few of these, it seems, came from Mesopotamia itself while the majority probably came from a workshop somewhere in North Syria.³⁷ This is all the more likely as large numbers of cylinder seals have been found in Syrian ports.

A faience cylinder seal found with LH IIIB pottery within the palace at Mycenae, however, probably originated in Palestine. The seal belongs to the general class of Mitannian faience seals, but its closest parallels are with seals of a type found at Beth Shan. This type is thought to have been manufactured, if not at Beth Shan itself, then in some other Palestinian

³¹ Åkerström 1975, 185-192; Onassoglou 1986, 37; Wace 1955; Cline 1994, 96, 99, Table 60, 168-172.

³² Grace 1956; Åström 1965, 120; Leonard 1996, 249.

³³ Åström 1991, 151.

³⁴ Seeden 1980, 122-129.

³⁵ Negbi 1980, 363-366; Cline 1991, 133-143.

³⁶ Gallet de Santerre & Tréheux 1947-1948, 148-254; Gallet de Santerre 1987, 7-29.

³⁷ Weidner 1966, 193-195; Porada 1981/82, 1-70; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 76-79.

centre.³⁸ Seals of Mitannian type have also been found elsewhere in Mainland Greece.³⁹ A number of faience vessels found at Mycenae are likely to have been imports from Syria/Palestine although their precise origin cannot be determined.⁴⁰

Although the origin of Mycenaean figurines is not eastern, their popularity does not occur until sometime after their first appearance and French attributes the spread and popularity of figurines on the Mainland which begins in LH IIIA2 to eastern influences. This is all the more likely since parallels for certain types of figurines, such as the seated figurines or the chariot groups, can also be found in the Levant and on Cyprus.⁴¹ If this is so, then this testifies to fairly close connections between the Levant and Greece since it is difficult to imagine that the Mycenaeans would take over a foreign custom unless they were in direct contact with and familiar with various aspects of the culture. On the other hand, since eastern figurines are also found on Cyprus, it is equally possible that the Mycenaeans were influenced from Cyprus and not directly from the Levant.

At this time Eastern influences on Mycenaean ivory working are evident.⁴² These influences cannot be precisely localised but only attributed to the general area of North Syria which had a long tradition of ivory carving.⁴³ It seems, however, that only two pieces, both from Mycenae, can be regarded with certainty as actual imports from Syria. One is a plaque with relief carving which has a close parallel in the pyxis-lid from Minet el-Beida.⁴⁴ The other is the male head found in Room 31 in the Cult Centre at Mycenae.⁴⁵ A few other pieces from various sites in Greece are less certainly to be considered Syrian imports.⁴⁶ An ivory figurine from an uncertain context at Tiryns is considered by Kilian to be an import from the Levant and is compared to Near Eastern foundation deposit figurines.⁴⁷

³⁸ Wace & Porada 1957, 200-204.

³⁹ Cline 1994, 150-153.

⁴⁰ Peltenburg 1991, 166; Cline 1994, 49, 207-208, 219-220.

⁴¹ French 1971, 106; 1981B, 173.

⁴² Poursat 1977, 234-247.

⁴³ Barnett 1982, 28-31.

⁴⁴ Poursat 1977, 232.

⁴⁵ Taylour 1970, 275; Buchholz 1974, 436; Poursat 1977, 53, 233.

⁴⁶ Poursat 1977, 231-233.

⁴⁷ 1988B, 145.

Obviously, the archaeological record does not provide a complete picture of all the goods that were traded and the Mycenaeans could have been importing various kinds of perishable goods from Syria-Palestine which would not leave any archaeological traces.⁴⁸ Grain has been suggested by J. Muhly, since it is known from the Ras Shamra tablets that Syria exported grain in the Late Bronze Age.⁴⁹ Merchandise such as gold, cloth, spices have been suggested by Bass.⁵⁰ Since these items would not have needed pottery containers, this could explain the comparative lack of Canaanite pottery in Greece. That the Mycenaeans acquired these items from the Levant is very probable, particularly since the Mycenaean words for spices such as sesame, cumin and the word for gold are of Semitic origin.⁵¹ Information about Mycenaean textiles is derived from depictions in the frescoes and the only discernible influence is Cretan.⁵² However, the word for garments is also of Semitic origin. Purple dye was in later times associated with the Levant and there is evidence for this industry at Ras Shamra during the Late Bronze Age. The archaeological evidence, however, shows that the making of purple dye from crushed murex shells occurred at an early date in Crete, and that it was possibly introduced from there into the Argolid, late in the Middle Helladic period.⁵³ Another possibility is terebinth resin used in perfume-making and which is attested in Linear B. A large quantity of this resin was found on the ship wrecked near Ulu Burun and which may have been travelling towards Greece.⁵⁴ Other items which can be suggested are timber, animal hides, leather, incense, dried fruits, preserved fish.⁵⁵ It seems not improbable that a large variety of goods of Syrian or Palestinian origin reached the Aegean in the Late Bronze Age, although very few can be attested in the archaeological or literary record of the Aegean.

In summary, the archaeological record, chiefly the Mycenaean pottery found in Palestine seems to show that there was regular contact between Greece and Palestine from the LH III period onwards and it is therefore clear that there were trading contacts between the Levant and

⁴⁸ Cf. Knapp 1993B, 284; Cline 1994, 1.

⁴⁹ 1970, 19-64; cf. Linder 1981, 33.

⁵⁰ 1967, 163-167.

⁵¹ Duhoux 1988, 79.

⁵² E. Barber 1991, 314-330.

⁵³ Reese 1987, 201-206; see however Palaima 1991, 290.

⁵⁴ Bass 1991; Palaima 1991, 279.

⁵⁵ The Ras Shamra tablets mention the export of wine, olive oil, honey, timber, resins, linens, cloth, salt, and ivory as well as textiles and grain.

the Aegean; contacts which were perhaps more extensive than is indicated by the available evidence.

The nature of LH III contact between the Aegean and the Levant

The finds of Mycenaean pottery in the Levant from the LH IIIA period are generally assumed to indicate trade on a regular basis between Greece and Palestine; this trade is often thought to have been concentrated in the hands of the Mycenaeans who are supposed to have exercised commercial supremacy in the eastern Mediterranean.⁵⁶ The theory that the Mycenaeans controlled most of the trade in the Mediterranean is based to a large extent on the discrepancy between the relatively few objects of Levantine provenance found in Greece and the considerable and widespread amounts of Mycenaean pottery in Syria and Palestine, as well as in most other areas of the eastern Mediterranean.⁵⁷

The possibility of Mycenaean trading settlements in the Levant has also been suggested. In Palestine, a possible candidate for a Mycenaean presence is Tell Abu Hawam since it was an important harbour. Moreover, the largest concentration of Mycenaean pottery in the Levant as well as a few Mycenaean figurines was found at Tell Abu Hawam.⁵⁸ Additional evidence of Mycenaean influence has been seen in Building 63-65 at Tell Abu Hawam (Stratum V, LB II), which has been compared to megaron complexes on the Mainland of Greece.⁵⁹ If indeed Building 63-65 can be considered to belong to a Mycenaean type of building it must be considered as evidence of direct contact between Tell Abu Hawam and Greece. However, this is not very clear evidence for a Mycenaean presence at Tell Abu Hawam. The quantities of Mycenaean pottery can be explained by the fact that Tell Abu Hawam was the main port of entry for foreign goods into Palestine, whether they would be coming from Cyprus or from the Aegean. Much Cypriote material was also found at Tell Abu Hawam, including figurines, cylinder seals, as well as a wide range of ceramic wares and shapes.⁶⁰ The Mycenaean plan of Building 63-65 would

⁵⁶ Cf. Dickinson 1994A, 234.

⁵⁷ Knapp 1993A, 333; it is also partially derived from a tradition of Greek thalassocracy based on Thucydides (I.4-14).

⁵⁸ Hankey 1967, 108-147.

⁵⁹ Harif 1974.

⁶⁰ Balensi 1985, 65-74.

seem to be based more on the possibility of a Mycenaean presence at Tell Abu Hawam than on the actual architectural remains of the building. The resemblance between Building 63-65 and Mycenaean megara is very general and there is some doubt about its exact restoration.⁶¹ Building 63-65 is well constructed and situated in a prominent position in the town and is likely to have had some official function, perhaps military.⁶² It is therefore not very likely that it could have belonged to a Mycenaean resident at Tell Abu Hawam. In conclusion, although the possibility of Mycenaean trade enclaves in the Levant perhaps cannot be definitely excluded, there is at present no evidence for any.⁶³

As has been pointed out by Bass among others, the Mycenaean pottery in the Levant says nothing about the nationalities of the ships in which it was carried there which may have been Syro-Palestinian, Mycenaean, or Cypriote.⁶⁴

Accordingly, a case has also been made for a stronger Levantine involvement in trade in the eastern Mediterranean.⁶⁵ There is some evidence that Syrian traders at least did on occasion sail west of Cyprus. Ugaritic anchors have been found in the sea off the north/west coast of Cyprus.⁶⁶ An Ugaritic document from the second half of the thirteenth century concerns an Ugaritic ship sailing to a locality which has been identified with Crete which implies that ships from Ras Shamra at least occasionally sailed into the Aegean.⁶⁷ More tangible evidence is provided by the ship wrecks found off the southern coast of Turkey. The Cape Gelidonya ship which sank in the late thirteenth century is considered by Bass to be either Syrian or Cypriote, conclusions based on objects recovered from it which could be interpreted as personal possessions of the crew. Bass considers Ras Shamra a probable home port.⁶⁸ The fourteenth century shipwreck found at Ulu Burun near Kas is believed by Bass to be a Syrian ship on its way into the Aegean.⁶⁹ Apart from discussing the indi-

⁶¹ Harif's reconstruction of Building 63-65 has been challenged (Gregori & Palumbo 1986, 373-374).

⁶² Hamilton 1935, 1-69.

⁶³ Gilmour 1992, 118.

⁶⁴ 1991, 73.

⁶⁵ Sasson 1966; Bass 1991; Watrous 1992, 176; see also Knapp 1993A, 334-336.

⁶⁶ McCaslin 1980, 104.

⁶⁷ Heltzer 1988, 7-13.

⁶⁸ 1991, 69.

⁶⁹ 1985, 290; 1991, 74.

cations given by its cargo and the fact that the anchors found were of a Syrian type, he also compares it to Egyptian depictions of Syrian ships.⁷⁰

Regarding Greece, there is very little concrete evidence indicating that Canaanite traders ever sailed in the Aegean, and it seems very unlikely that all trade between the Levant and the Aegean was conducted by Levantines. Canaanite jars have been found in great profusion in those areas with which the Canaanites trade regularly and were in direct contact with such as Egypt or Cyprus. Surely, this would also have been the case in Greece if Canaanites were trading directly with Greece. It is, however, quite possible that sherds from Canaanite jars may not have been recognised as such in earlier excavations. The evidence from Kommos where a fair number of Canaanite jars have been recognised suggests that this could be the case.⁷¹ It is also worthwhile to note that no important Late Bronze Age harbour site has been excavated on the Mainland.

There is also some evidence for Cypriotes travelling into the Aegean. Two tombs have been found on Rhodes which seem Cypriote.⁷² These tombs are not enough to indicate the presence of a Cypriote colony on Rhodes, but they certainly indicate that Cypriotes did on occasion sail westwards. As well more Cypriote pottery has been found on Rhodes than elsewhere in the Aegean.⁷³ Contacts between Rhodes and Cyprus seem to have started already in the Late Cypriote I period.⁷⁴

In any event, it is unlikely that all trade between the Aegean and the Levant was conducted by Canaanites and Cypriotes. The Mycenaeans' need for copper would certainly have brought them as far as Cyprus. Unfortunately we know very little about how Mycenaean trade was conducted. In contrast to the tablets from the Near Eastern palatial archives, the Linear B tablets from Pylos do not record anything about the organisation of trade or about how the various goods mentioned in the tablets were acquired by the palaces.⁷⁵ Nevertheless it seems reasonable to suppose that Mycenaean foreign trade was as highly organised as were other

⁷⁰ The nationality of the Kas shipwreck has however been disputed; Cemal Pulak, the co-excavator believes the ship to be probably Mycenaean on account of the drinking and eating vessels used by the crew (1988, 37). The origin of the pottery in daily use by the crew would seem to be an uncertain argument for determining the nationality of the shipwreck, since Mycenaean pottery was so widely exported around the eastern Mediterranean. What is of significance is the nationality of the shipowner, while the crew may have been of mixed nationalities. See also Cline 1994, 274 and G. Albers' comments in the discussion following Cline's paper.

⁷¹ Watrous 1992, 175.

⁷² Mee 1982, 22.

⁷³ Cadogan 1972, 5-13; Åström 1988, 76-79.

⁷⁴ Åström 1988, 76-79.

⁷⁵ Killen 1985; Chadwick 1976, 157.

aspects of the Mycenaean economy. Since the Linear B tablets give the impression of a tightly regulated social system, it is remarkable that there is no mention at all of any trading activity. Chadwick therefore has questioned the existence of a Mycenaean merchant-class.⁷⁶ This, however, would imply that all goods of foreign provenance found in the Aegean had been brought there by foreign merchants which seems unlikely. The material evidence for goods traded does not allow one to distinguish between centrally organised trade and private enterprise and it is possible that there was no direct connection between politics and trade and that professional traders did not belong to the political elite and acted independently of them.⁷⁷ On the other hand, the importance of copper suggests that the Mycenaean rulers would have been interested in ensuring the existence of a fairly regular supply. Killen suggests that Mycenaean trade may have been conducted mainly from Mycenae and that could be the reason why there is no information about trade in the Pylos tablets.⁷⁸ Killen's suggestion seems reasonable as it fits with the evidence for the provenance of the Mycenaean pottery found in the East. As has been pointed out by Sherratt, the distinctive repertoire of this pottery suggests the existence of a specific production intended for export and almost certainly reflects an organised economy.⁷⁹ It is therefore possible to hypothesise the existence of organised trade from the Argolid probably directed in the main towards the sources of copper in Cyprus.

The evidence from Rhodes shows clearly that the Mycenaeans were actively engaged in trade. The geographical position of Rhodes must have made it an important station in the trade between Cyprus and the Aegean.⁸⁰ The presence of large numbers of Mycenaeans on Rhodes from the LH IIIA2 period is clear and the pattern of Mycenaean settlement on this island suggests that interest in trade with the east was a motivating force.⁸¹

Far greater quantities and ranges of Cypriote than of Mycenaean pottery have been found in the Levant. This may merely reflect a situation in which there was more intensive trade between Cyprus and the

⁷⁶ 1976, 156-158.

⁷⁷ Fulford 1987, 59.

⁷⁸ 1985.

⁷⁹ 1980.

⁸⁰ Very little Mycenaean pottery has been reported from the south coast of Turkey (Mee 1978, 121-151).

⁸¹ Mee 1982, 78-92.

Levant than between the Aegean and the Levant which would merely be a reflection of the relative distances involved. On the other hand, it is also possible that all or much of the Mycenaean pottery found in Palestine did not reach the Levant directly from the Aegean, but was brought there via Cyprus and imported into Palestine along with Cypriote pottery. In that case, Mycenaean pottery could have been brought to Palestine by Syrian or Cypriote merchant ships and not necessarily by the Mycenaeans themselves. Although it is often stated to be the case,⁸² the widespread occurrences of Mycenaean pottery in Syria or Palestine do not *per se* prove that the Mycenaeans were involved in trading activities along the Levantine coast nor that there was direct commercial contact between Greece and the Levant; they merely indicate that Mycenaean pottery was highly regarded. It is conceivable that the so-called Mycenaean thalassocracy did not extend further east than Cyprus and that Mycenaean merchandise which travelled further east did so in Canaanite or Cypriote ships.⁸³ Trade between Cyprus and the Levant may have been in the hands of Cypriote or Syrian traders who exercised a monopoly which excluded Mycenaean traders.

It can be said that although Mycenaean pottery is widespread in Palestine, and substantial amounts have been found on certain sites, notably Tell Abu Hawam, the amounts found on any particular site are not usually very large, and certainly not large enough by themselves to signify intense trade. Far less Mycenaean pottery has been found in Syria and Palestine taken together, than in Cyprus.⁸⁴ This could indicate that Mycenaean pottery and its contents was exported to Cyprus from Greece and that a comparatively small amount was then further exported to Syria and Palestine along with Cypriote exports to the region. It is also of significance that chemical analysis done on Mycenaean pottery found in Palestine and on Cyprus show that they had a common source and that much of it seems to have been imported from the northeastern Peloponnese.⁸⁵

In the Late Bronze Age, Cypriote pottery is found in great abundance in Syria and Palestine. The development of several important

⁸² E. g. Wace & Blegen 1939, 131-147; Kantor 1947; Immerwahr 1960, 4-13; Nicolaou 1982, 121-127; R. Barber 1987, 225-226.

⁸³ Cf. Portugali & Knapp 1985, 44-78; Cadogan 1973. For a discussion on the proper meaning of thalassocracy see Lambrou-Phillipson 1993.

⁸⁴ Catling 1973, 34-39.

⁸⁵ Asaro & Perlman 1973, 213-224; Sherratt 1980; Catling et al. 1963, 94-115.

harbour towns on the south coast of Cyprus testifies to the growing importance of trade in the Cypriote economy.⁸⁶ In addition, the tablets found at Ras Shamra indicate close trading contact between Cyprus and the Levant as Alasiya is mentioned as a trading partner of Ugarit.⁸⁷ Alasiya is commonly identified with Cyprus and there seems to be little reason to doubt the identification.⁸⁸ An important text deals with the sale of an Ugaritic ship to an Alasiyan merchant. Commercial and diplomatic relations between Cyprus and Ugarit are well-documented in the Late Bronze Age and the close ties that existed between Ugarit and Cyprus can be seen from the fact that Alasiyans are mentioned in various connections in the tablets: as craftsmen, as shepherds, as temple officials and as royal personnel.⁸⁹ In addition, tablets written in Cypro-Minoan script have been found at Ugarit and it is not unlikely that there was a permanent colony of Cypriotes established at Ras Shamra.⁹⁰

Ugaritic texts mention ships travelling from Ras Shamra all along the Syro-Palestinian coast and to Egypt,⁹¹ and it is possible that some of the trade between Palestine and Cyprus could have gone through Ras Shamra. That Cypriote contacts with Canaan were not limited to Ras Shamra, however, is evident from the distribution of Cypriote Bichrome Ware which is not represented at Ras Shamra or elsewhere in Syria and also from the evidence of a large number of Cypriote artefacts such as jewellery and more utilitarian objects such as tools or weapons which have Palestinian rather than Syrian parallels.⁹² It seems safe to conclude, therefore, that Cyprus had direct contact with a number of settlements along the Syro-Palestinian coast and in fact, during the late Middle Bronze Age and early Late Bronze Age, the evidence from Palestinian sites shows closer contacts with Cyprus than with North Syria.⁹³

⁸⁶ Åström 1969, 73-80.

⁸⁷ Heltzer 1977, 203-211.

⁸⁸ Convincing arguments for the identification of Alasiya with Cyprus have been provided by Holmes 1971, 426-429. See also Hellbing 1979, 72-75. A major argument for the identification is that both in the Mari archives and the letters from Tell el-Amarna, Alasiya is mentioned in connection with copper and copper export (Dossin 1939, 111; Åström 1972, 773). As well, the information given in EA 114 and the tale of Wenamon support the identification (Wachsmann 1986, 37-40). The Ugaritic tablets also support the identification (Nougayrol 1968, 79-80). That Alasiya was Cyprus is denied by Merrillees (1972, 5-13) who thinks that Alasiya should be located somewhere on the North Syrian coast. Likewise Catling (1964, 299-300) is more inclined to believe that Alasiya was located in North Syria rather than in Cyprus. For the most recent review of the evidence see Knapp et al. 1996 (*non vidi*).

⁸⁹ Knapp 1983, 38-45.

⁹⁰ Masson 1969, 379-392.

⁹¹ Heltzer 1977, 203-211; Astour 1965, 253-258.

⁹² Åström & Åström 1972.

⁹³ Oren 1969.

At Tell Abu Hawam, very large quantities of Cypriote pottery were found as well as terracotta female figurines and bull rhyta imported from Cyprus. Tombs of Cypriote type have also been found in the vicinity. The possibility of a Cypriote trading colony at Tell Abu Hawam has therefore been suggested.⁹⁴ There is no doubt that Cyprus was actively engaged in maritime trade and did not merely function as a mercantile middle-station in the Late Bronze Age. A number of models of sea-going boats have been found on Cyprus; these have been analysed and shown to represent merchant-vessels rather than war-ships. The boats are large with elaborate provisions for rigging and sails and certainly show that the Cypriotes were capable of transporting their own goods around the Mediterranean.⁹⁵

Nonetheless, Cypriote ships were certainly not alone in the eastern Mediterranean and there is much to be said in favour of a strong Canaanite involvement in trade in the eastern Mediterranean, including trade with Cyprus. The most extensive documentation comes from Ras Shamra which had a long sea-coast and several harbours of which the most important was Minet el-Beida. It is known from the tablets that foreign trade was an important part of Ugaritic economy.⁹⁶

A deposit discovered at Minet el-Beida containing a very large amount of Cypriote pottery dating to the early part of the Late Bronze Age shows that Ras Shamra functioned as a middle station for trade.⁹⁷ It is clear, however, that Ugarit's status, as Cyprus', was not confined to being an intermediary one, concerned only with import and export. Ugarit had a large commercial fleet and shipbuilding was an important industry.⁹⁸ On the basis of the cargoes of Ugaritic vessels, mentioned in the tablets, the considerable tonnage of Ugaritic ships has been estimated.⁹⁹ An Egyptian wall painting, dating to the reign of Amenophis III shows Canaanite ships along with Canaanite merchants and merchandise arriving in Egypt. The painting indicates ships of considerable size.¹⁰⁰ The Ugaritic documents indicate that ships from Ras Shamra sailed to Cyprus.

⁹⁴ Åström 1993, 312.

⁹⁵ Westerberg 1983, 9-18; Åström 1969, 73-80.

⁹⁶ Heltzer 1978, 84; Rainey 1963, 313-321; Astour 1965.

⁹⁷ Merrillees 1968.

⁹⁸ Linder 1981, 31-42; Heltzer 1982, 188-191.

⁹⁹ Frost 1969A, 235-245.

¹⁰⁰ Casson 1971, 35-36.

It is reasonable to regard the information preserved in the Ugaritic tablets as essentially correct for the Late Bronze Age in general. The archaeological evidence shows large quantities of foreign goods present at Ras Shamra throughout the Late Bronze Age and Ugarit can be considered as one of the principal trade-centres in the Near East in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries.¹⁰¹

A certain number of anchors dating from the Bronze Age have been found in the Near East. The votive anchors found in the temple of Ba'al testify to the economic importance of marine activity at Ugarit.¹⁰² More stone anchors have been found on or off the coast of Cyprus than anywhere else in the eastern Mediterranean¹⁰³ and while most are probably Cypriote, six anchors found at Hala Sultan Tekke, Kition and Enkomi are similar to Ugaritic anchors, both in shape and as regards the chemical composition of the stone. They are therefore likely, although it is not completely certain, to be Syrian and to have come from Syrian vessels.¹⁰⁴

Although evidence for Canaanite involvement in sea trade is more extensive at Ras Shamra than elsewhere on the Syro-Palestinian coast, it is clear that other centres were also actively engaged in trading activities. Anchors have been found at Byblos¹⁰⁵ which must also have been an important port as were Tell Abu Hawam and Akko.¹⁰⁶ From Tell Abu Hawam a trade route led inland to the Jordan Valley and further east, passing by Beth Shan. From the Middle Bronze Age onward, Beth Shan was a centre of export-oriented industry. Gypsum and stone vases were manufactured there, examples of which have been found on Cyprus. As previously mentioned, Beth Shan may also have been a centre for the manufacture of cylinder seals.¹⁰⁷ Tell Abu Hawam must have been an important centre for Palestinian exports and imports.

In conclusion, it seems to show that both Canaanites and Cypriotes were involved in the trading ventures between the Levant and Cyprus, and that neither side exercised a monopoly to the exclusion of the other. With both Canaanite and Cypriote trading vessels, eager to protect their

¹⁰¹ Heltzer 1978.

¹⁰² Frost 1969A, 235-245; Schaeffer 1978, 375.

¹⁰³ McCaslin 1980.

¹⁰⁴ Frost 1970, 14-23.

¹⁰⁵ Frost 1969B, 423-442.

¹⁰⁶ Weinstein 1980, 43-46.

¹⁰⁷ Hankey 1966, 169-171.

own interests, operating between Cyprus and the Levant, and along the Syro-Palestinian coast, the Mycenaeans could quite easily have been kept from going east of Cyprus. It is also of some significance that among the fairly numerous anchors found in the eastern Mediterranean, there are none that have been identified as Helladic in type.¹⁰⁸

As already mentioned, trade at Ugarit was highly organised and regulated by the authorities, and consequently there is much information about trade in the epigraphic material. It is also clear from the tablets that there was a large number of foreigners at Ugarit.¹⁰⁹ Nowhere in this extensive material, however, is there any record of Mycenaeans present at Ugarit either as residents or visiting merchants. No personal names that can be recognised as Aegean are recorded and, in fact, the tablets show no knowledge of the Aegean at all.¹¹⁰ This is an argument *ex silentio*, but it is hard to believe that if there was regular direct trade between the Aegean and Ras Shamra there would be no evidence of it at all in the Ugaritic tablets.

Using the evidence at present available, it is not possible to demonstrate definitely that the Mycenaeans were kept out of the Eastern Mediterranean by Cypriotes and Syrians. There is, however, some circumstantial evidence which can be interpreted in favour of this view. Any conclusions concerning the organisation of trade and questions of national trade monopolies in the Late Bronze Age must be drawn from the written records. No administrative or economic records from Cyprus itself are available. Cypriote merchants are, however, mentioned in both Ugaritic and Egyptian documents which provide some information, and from them it is possible to assume that Cypriote trade was, at least to a certain degree, centralised and in the hands of the royal authorities. One of the Alasiya letters found at Tell el-Amarna has the Alasiyan king referring to Cypriote ships and merchants as "my merchants" and "my ships" (EA 39, 18-29). Ugaritic documents record trade agreements between the king of Alasiya and the king of Ugarit. At Ugarit the case is clear and a number of the records found at Ras Shamra deal with trade and it is clear that at Ugarit trade was highly organised and almost completely monopolised by the king.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ McCaslin 1980.

¹⁰⁹ Linder 1981, 31-42.

¹¹⁰ Astour 1964, 193-201; 1973, 17-27; Sandars 1972.

¹¹¹ Heltzer 1978, 157-158.

The Ugaritic archives mention several trading agreements, as well as agreements on the treatment of foreign merchants, between the various powers of the Near East. Nowhere in these records is there any mention of the Mycenaeans. Although, perhaps not conclusive, this can be taken as an indication that the Mycenaeans were not trading directly with Ugarit.

Another factor worth mentioning is the prevalence of piracy in the Eastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age. In order to combat piracy, the various powers and coastal cities of the Eastern Mediterranean entered into treaties and alliances for their mutual protection.¹¹² Lack of protection against pirates could possibly have kept the Mycenaeans from going beyond Cyprus.

A possible interpretation of the evidence for contact between the Levant and the Aegean in the Late Bronze Age is that Mycenaean trade with Syria and Palestine was conducted mainly, if not exclusively, through the intermediary of Cyprus.

Cyprus as intermediary for trade between the Aegean and the Levant

It can be argued that the objects of Canaanite origin found in Greece came from Cyprus. Canaanite jars of the same type as those found in Greece have been found in large numbers in Cyprus from the later fifteenth century onwards, and it is likely that many of them were Palestinian.¹¹³ It has also been shown by neutron activation analysis that some of the Canaanite jars from Hala Sultan Tekke were locally made.¹¹⁴ The examples found in Greece show a great variety of fabric and shape and there is a possibility that some of them might have been made in Cyprus and not in the Levant; a few, however, have been analysed and are definitely from the Levant. A possible indication that all of the Canaanite jars found in Greece might have come via Cyprus is provided by the one found in Tomb I on the northeastern slope of the Areopagus. The chemical profile of this jar resembles that of local pottery from the coastal plain around

¹¹² Altman 1988, 229-237.

¹¹³ Åkerström 1975, 115-192; Åström 1993, 311; 1991.

¹¹⁴ Åström: Discussion to article by J.-C. Courtois: A propos des apports orientaux dans la civilisation du bronze récent à Chypre, 89, in Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium "Cyprus between the Orient and the Occident" Nicosia 8-14 September, 1985 (ed. Vassos Karageorghis); Nicosia, 1986; 1991, 150.

Tell Dor. Found in the same tomb were two jugs, partly made in Base Ring technique and therefore probably imports from Cyprus; similar pottery has been found at Hala Sultan Tekke.¹¹⁵ Several examples of Canaanite metal gods have also been found on Cyprus, indications that the ones found in the Aegean could have been imported from Cyprus, rather than from the Levant.

Large numbers of both Syrian and Mesopotamian seals have been found on Cyprus and consequently those found on the Greek Mainland may also have reached the Aegean from Cyprus rather than directly from Syria.¹¹⁶ Among the deposit of cylinder seals found at Thebes, one group was engraved in Cypriote styles and several of these had originally been carved elsewhere but had been recut in Cyprus.¹¹⁷ A cylinder seal found at Kition was originally a Syrian seal dating to the eighteenth or seventeenth century and had been recut in Cyprus at a later date.¹¹⁸

The position of Cyprus as an intermediary for contact between Syria/Palestine and the Aegean is supported by the evidence from ivory working. As previously mentioned, it is debatable whether the earliest examples of ivory found in Greece arrived from Cyprus. The date of the first appearance of ivory in Cyprus is uncertain, but it is not until the Late Cypriote IIB-C period that a number of ivory objects are found on Cyprus.¹¹⁹ Most of the ivories found on Cyprus are of local manufacture and in fact few actual imports have been found, but there are a few from the Aegean and rather more from Syria.¹²⁰ Workshops for ivory carving have been identified at Enkomi, Kouklia, and Kition.¹²¹ Characteristic for the style of Cypriote ivory carving is a blend of Aegean and eastern elements. A similar school of ivory carving with mixed eastern and Aegean elements also existed at Ras Shamra in the same period.

It can be argued that the eastern elements evident in Mycenaean ivory carving were the result of influences from Cyprus rather than directly from the Levant. It is only after the development of the Cypriote

¹¹⁵ Åström & Jones 1982, 7-9.

¹¹⁶ Kenna 1967.

¹¹⁷ Porada 1981/82, 9, 68.

¹¹⁸ Porada 1985, 250.

¹¹⁹ Åström & Åström 1972, 608-615.

¹²⁰ Åström & Åström 1972, 608-615.

¹²¹ Barnett 1982; Åström 1969, 73-80; Xenaki-Sakellariou 1989, 74.

school of ivory carving that Levantine iconographical elements become markedly noticeable in Mycenaean ivories.¹²²

The evidence from other minor arts substantiate the picture of Cyprus as a place where influences from both east and west met. Sealstones originating both from the Aegean and from Syria or further east have been found in considerable quantities on Cyprus, and native Cypriote sealcarving traditions are influenced from both areas.¹²³ Similarly in Cypriote jewellery, Aegean, Palestinian, and Syrian influences are discernible.¹²⁴

The Alasiya letters found at Tell el-Amarna show that various types of merchandise, which are non-indigenous to Cyprus, were exports from Alasiya. Perhaps one can add Mycenaean pottery and its contents to the list of foreign exports from Cyprus.

In conclusion, the archaeological evidence indicates that there was a certain amount of fairly regular trade between the Levant and the Aegean in the LH III period. Much of this trade, however, may not have been direct. If Mycenaean traders were active in the Levant to any extent, it seems likely that Mycenaean contacts with Palestine would have been quite limited. The Palestinian coast is notably lacking in harbours, implying that any Mycenaean contacts would have been with the main harbours, in particular Tell Abu Hawam, Akko, and possibly Tell Dor.¹²⁵ It seems quite improbable that Mycenaean traders would have travelled inland to any distance.

It is also a question of some significance whether casual trade contacts, however systematic or regular, could account for the influence of one culture upon the sacred architecture of another.

¹²² Poursat 1977.

¹²³ Kenna 1967, 255-268, 552-577; 1968, 142-156; 1969, 135-148;

¹²⁴ Åström & Åström 1972.

¹²⁵ Artzy 1995, 30, 38, fnnt 94; Stern 1995, 81-82.

THE ROLE OF CYPRUS

In view of the discussion on trade in the Late Bronze Age where it was suggested that there may have been little direct contact between the Levant and the Aegean, but rather that trade between these areas was often conducted through the intermediary of Cyprus, the possible role of Cyprus in the transmission of eastern influences on the religious architecture of the Aegean is a possibility worth taking into consideration. Cyprus was in direct contact with both the Levant and the Aegean, and relations between Cyprus and the Levant go back to the Middle Bronze Age. A massive influx of Mycenaean pottery into Cyprus is evident from the beginning of the LH III period, testifying to close trading relations between the Aegean and Cyprus at the time of the building of the West Shrine at Phylakopi.

Significantly, there is evidence for Levantine influences on the sacred architecture of Cyprus. The evidence comes from the Temple area of Kition where a series of temples dating to the Late Bronze and early Iron Ages were constructed.¹ The earliest temples are Temples 2 and 3 which date to the Late Cypriote IIC period (Fig. 60). They are built on a similar plan, and according to the excavator, Karageorghis, the temples at Kition conform to a standard Near Eastern plan, he compares them to the temples at Lachish and Tell Qasile, that is to temples belonging to the group of Palestinian temples with asymmetrical plan and indirect access.

Temple 2 is the largest of the two temples and is more than three times the size of Temple 3. It consists of a large central room with a small storeroom behind it. The main room was divided into three by two rows of three pillars and located near the back wall of the room there was a hearth. The entrance from the outside is bent-axis and led into a narrow anteroom; a bent-axis entrance led into the main room. Temple 3 consists of a main room and a storeroom. There were platforms along two walls,

¹ Karageorghis & Demas 1985; Karageorghis 1975, 258-281; 1976, 55; 1981, 82-90.

and the entrance into the main room was bent-axis directly from the outside. Near the entrance there was a hearth. Animal bones were found in connection with these hearths and they have been interpreted as sacrificial altars.² The temples are situated within a large open area which was apparently planted with small bushes and flowers.³ Both Temples 2 and 3 have the same east/west orientation with the bent-axis entrance at the south end of the south wall. It seems possible that the orientation was of some significance.⁴

That there is Near Eastern influences on the temples at Kition has, in general, been accepted.⁵ It has, however, also been argued that the temples at Kition represent a more complex, monumentalised version of the traditional Cypriote sanctuary type, and have not been influenced by the sacred architecture of the Levant or any other part of the eastern Mediterranean.⁶ However, since the main ritual area in Cypriote sanctuaries was generally an open courtyard, this does not seem probable, and the comparison with the temple architecture of Palestine seems valid. The monumentality of the temple complex at Kition cannot be paralleled in earlier Cypriote sanctuaries and it seems reasonable to conclude that the uniqueness of the Sacred Area of Kition in comparison with earlier Cypriote sanctuaries can be attributed to specific foreign influence. Karageorghis believes that the two first temples at Kition were used as twin sanctuaries and compares them to temple complexes elsewhere in the Near East.⁷ However, Karageorghis emphasises that there also are differences from the Near Eastern models which can be attributed to the requirements of Cypriote cult practice. Most significant is the lack of any type of structure within the temples which could be interpreted as a cult focus and it can be deduced that permanent display of the cult figure of the divinity was not a feature of Cypriote cult as it seems to have been of Canaanite cult. Nor are hearths within the main room generally a feature of Canaanite temples.⁸ Hearths are, however, common in Late Cypriote sanctuaries.⁹

² Karageorghis & Demas 1985, 258-259.

³ Karageorghis & Demas 1985, 29-32, 258-259.

⁴ Karageorghis & Demas 1985, 251.

⁵ Renfrew 1985, 412; Mazar 1980, 67-68.

⁶ Burdajewicz 1990, 24-28.

⁷ 1976, 57.

⁸ 1985, 250.

⁹ Webb 1977, 113-132.

That there is a typological connection between the temples at Kition and those of the Aegean is accepted by in the final publication of Kition by Demas who, however, points out that arguments based on architectural form alone seem inadequate for determining origin and influence and that there is a need for more investigation into the question.¹⁰

Similarities between the temples at Kition and the Mycenaean temples are not obvious. Although both at Mycenae and at Phylakopi there were more than one temple in use at the same time and it could therefore be appropriate to speak in terms of sacred precincts, the monumentality of the sacred area at Kition is not paralleled in the Aegean, nor are any specific features of the architecture, although one could compare the hearths in the temples at Kition with the hearth in the cult building at Methana and the possible hearth in Room 31 in the Cult Centre at Mycenae.

The main difficulty in seeing Cyprus as an intermediary for the transmission of architectural influences on temple building from the East to the Aegean is the chronological factor involved as already pointed out by Renfrew.¹¹ Temples 2 and 3 at Kition are dated to LC IIC, that is the equivalent of LH IIIB and are therefore too late in date to have had any influence on the origin of Mycenaean temple architecture. As already mentioned, the temples at Kition had, judging by the available archaeological evidence, no local Cypriote antecedents and seem to represent an innovation in Cypriote religious architecture. There is no evidence at all to suggest that the Cypriotes may have built temples on a Levantine model before the construction of these temples. This is the more likely since Cyprus already possessed a sanctuary tradition going back to the Early Cypriote period, and which is represented at several sites in Cyprus. This consists basically of an open temenos sometimes surrounded by various structures. Examples dating to the Late Cypriote period have been found at Ayios Iakovos, Ayia Irini, Idalion, and Myrtou "Pigadhes".¹² As has been pointed out by Renfrew,¹³ the traditional type of Cypriote sanctuary differs in significant ways from the Aegean sanctuaries so that any

¹⁰ Karageorghis & Demas 1985, 102.

¹¹ 1985, 412-413.

¹² Åström 1972, 1-11.

¹³ 1985, 412-413.

influence from Cypriote religious architecture can be ruled out without further question.

Other indications point in the same direction; Cypriote influences in other areas of Mycenaean architecture are not evident, and there are no obvious Cypriote elements in Mycenaean religion. Without further, more conclusive, evidence, any theory that the Aegean was influenced by Palestinian religious architecture through the intermediary of Cyprus can almost certainly be ruled out.

COMPARISON BETWEEN MYCENAEAN SACRED AND DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE¹

As has been discussed, comparison between the Palestinian temples and the Mycenaean cult buildings, as well as considerations of the extent and nature of contact between the two areas lead to the conclusion that similarities between the Mycenaean cult buildings and the Palestinian temples most probably are coincidental. The objects of Levantine provenance which have been found within the Mycenaean cult buildings are accordingly most plausibly to be explained as having been deposited because they are unusual objects of some value rather than because they retained any specific religious value derived from their place of origin. A discussion of the Mycenaean cult buildings within a Mycenaean cultural context might make firmer conclusions possible.

The connection between Palestinian and Mycenaean sacred architecture has not been universally accepted. Renfrew, although he has suggested the Near East as a possible source of inspiration for the Mycenaean sanctuaries, does not take the possibility of Syro/Palestinian influences into consideration in his discussion of parallels to the sanctuary at Phylakopi in the final publication of the sanctuary and it is therefore evident that he considers the possibility remote.² Albers discusses various opinions on the connection between Mycenaean, Cypriote, and Palestinian cult buildings and notes that within each area, the find contexts, the interior installations, as well as those cult practices which can be archaeologically determined, need to be more carefully analysed before firm conclusions can be reached. She maintains that alleged foreign architectural elements cannot be seen in isolation as valid indicators of a foreign origin of the Mycenaean cult buildings and moreover that the

¹ A previous version of this chapter and the chapter on The Function of the Mycenaean temples formed the basis of a paper entitled *The Relationship Between Mycenaean Sacred and Domestic Architecture* which was read in Naples on October 17, 1991 at the Second International Mycenological Congress and has been published in the *Atti* of the Congress. I am grateful to Professor. Robin Hägg for valuable comments in that connection.

² 1981.

comparison of single architectural elements does not provide any clear indications of influence in either direction.³ Gilmour in an article written as a response to Negbi's 1988 article argues against Levantine influence on Mycenaean cult buildings and claims that the similarities in architecture and layout noted by Negbi are illusory or co-incidental and that cultural and chronological factors make the relationship unlikely.⁴

The most definite statement has been made by Schäfer. In an article, written as a reaction to Mazar's chapter on comparative temple architecture in the publication of the excavations at Tell Qasile, he criticised Mazar's comparison of the Palestinian temples with the Mycenaean sanctuaries.⁵ His criticism derives from the fact that Mazar based his conclusions solely on a comparison between the groundplans of the sanctuaries in the Aegean on the one hand and those of a particular type of Palestinian temples, in particular of Tell Qasile, on the other hand, whereby he assumed that the evident similarity must argue in favour of a direct relationship.

Schäfer does not think that the resemblances between the sacred architecture of the two areas are significant. He maintains that the resemblance only concerns the basic rectangular groundplan and he doubts whether indirect access can be said to be characteristic of the Mycenaean cult buildings. To the contrary, Schäfer would derive the Mycenaean cult buildings from the same native architectural traditions as the megaron, traceable on the Mainland back to the Middle Helladic period. Schäfer's case is inherently more plausible, but he does not argue it in any detail by showing how the Mycenaean cult buildings are related to native domestic architecture.

The main argument of Schäfer's article has been largely ignored, but I believe that he is basically right in maintaining that there is no need to go beyond the Aegean area in search of architectural origins, and that the Mycenaean cult buildings are a local Mycenaean development.⁶

³ Albers 1994, 5-7; 1996, 660-661.

⁴ 1993.

⁵ 1983.

⁶ Rutkowski (1986, 169-199) would also argue for a local origin. According to Rutkowski, the main characteristic of cult buildings in the Aegean is the tendency to imitate local domestic architecture. Rutkowski, however, does not discuss the reasons why he believes the Mycenaean sanctuaries can be compared to domestic architecture, and although he believes that the origin of the Mycenaean temple goes back to the Neolithic, he does not provide any corroborating evidence. Nor does he distinguish between Minoan and Mycenaean sanctuaries but assumes that they are basically related and have a common derivation.

Parallels for most of the architectural elements of the Mycenaean cult buildings can be found in earlier or contemporary domestic architecture.

Although there is great variety in Mycenaean domestic architecture as even a cursory survey will show, and a complete typology is difficult to establish, certain general rules can be defined.⁷ Although examples of contiguous construction exists, most Mycenaean houses seem to have been free-standing structures, such as the houses at Nichoria or at Korakou. Although there are exceptions, the majority of Mycenaean houses have the rooms arranged sequentially along one main axis.⁸ Structures with round plans have not been recognised. During the Middle Helladic period, both rectangular and apsidal houses are found. While apsidal houses all but become obsolete except, it seems, in outlying areas, the rectangular type becomes the common house form in the Late Helladic period.⁹ At Nichoria, however, an example of an apsidal building, Unit III-3, dated to LH IIIB, as well as sections of curvilinear walls which were probably house foundations could suggest that apsidal house plans were more common in the Mycenaean period than has generally been recognised.¹⁰

Second stories may well have occurred, although their existence can only be established with certainty in a few cases, and it is possible that only the larger more elaborate houses, such as the houses at Mycenae, commonly had more than one storey. The thickness of foundation walls may not be a reliable criterion for determining whether a house had an upper storey or not; evidence from contemporary traditional houses on Cyprus shows that walls of only about thirty centimetres could support a second storey.¹¹ At Malia, in Quartier Mu, mudbrick walls, only thirty centimetres thick, apparently supported a second storey.¹² Stair foundations within houses have not often been reported, although it is possible that in the case of upper stories, the staircases were located on the exterior of the house. Wooden ladders could also have been used.

Most Mycenaean houses consist of a fairly large main room and often there are one or two subsidiary rooms. The main room of the house

⁷ For classification and discussion of Mycenaean domestic architecture see Shear 1968; Sinos 1971; Hiesel 1990.

⁸ Cf. Shear 1987, 150.

⁹ Mazarakis-Ainian 1989, 269-288.

¹⁰ Aschenbrenner et al. 1992, 398-403; Walsh & McDonald 1992, 462

¹¹ Jameson 1990, 101.

¹² Hallager 1990, 284, fnnt 14.

can easily be identified because it is usually considerably larger than the other rooms of the house and because there is often a hearth.¹³ The main room is also in most cases the front room entered either directly from the outside or through a porch or an anteroom. In general, the main room is longer than it is broad; square rooms and rooms which are broader than they are long occur less often. Houses consisting of only one room apparently also existed but do not seem to have been very common. An example is House B at Eutresis which has been identified as a dwelling on account of the hearth; it is, however, also possible that it may have been a workshop and that the hearth had an industrial function. It seems possible that the majority of one-roomed houses are to be identified as workshops or storage units rather than as dwellings, since in most cases they are also quite small.¹⁴

In Mycenaean houses, the entrance is most commonly, but not always, situated in one of the short sides. In many cases, the entrance into the house from the outside does not lead directly into the main room but rather into an anteroom or an open porch. In addition to on-axis entrances, examples of both off-axis and bent-axis approach are represented in Mycenaean domestic architecture. Bent-axis entrance can be seen at Kriza in Ensemble F (Catalogue D 6B), at Eutresis in House K (Catalogue D 3B), and in the Pylos Wine Magazine (Catalogue D 11). Bent-axis entrance is also represented on Melos in House J3 of Period III at Phylakopi (LH IIIA). Off-axis entrance from the outside is represented at Korakou in House L (Catalogue D 5B), at Kirrha in Secteur D (Catalogue D 4), at Eutresis in House V (Catalogue D 3C) and at Nichoria in Unit IV-6 (Catalogue D 10B). Off-axis entrance is also common between interior rooms in Mycenaean palaces and it also occurs in larger houses such as the South House and the Ramp House at Mycenae. The entrance into the two rear rooms of House P at Korakou is also off-axis (Catalogue D 5D).

Although there are tendencies to strict axiality and symmetry in Mycenaean architecture, as is evident from the canonical megaron, exemplified by Unit IV-4 at Nichoria (Catalogue D 10A), the so-called temple at Mouriatadha (Catalogue D 8), and perhaps by House T and House S at Ayios Kosmas (Catalogue D 1A, B), complete symmetry is by

¹³ Cf. Shear 1986, 87.

¹⁴ See Harrison (1995, 25-26) for a discussion on the living space required by prehistoric individuals or families. See also Hodder (1982, 122-125) for a discussion of the problems connected with estimating the amount of living space needed.

no means an unswerving rule.¹⁵ The canonical megaron is in fact relatively rare in Mycenaean domestic architecture, and the degree of symmetry in the groundplan of Mycenaean houses can be seen to vary. The most common asymmetrical effect is the displacement of the entrance from the central axis.

Larger, more complicated types of buildings with the rooms arranged along more than one axis also existed, but many of the more elaborate houses can be analysed as having developed from the one-axis groundplan type. If a building contained more than five rooms, these were normally situated on parallel or right-angle axes (e.g. the West House at Mycenae (Catalogue D 9A); Kirrha, Secteur D (Catalogue D 4A); Krisa, Ensemble F (Catalogue D 6B)). In some cases, the different axes correspond to different periods of construction (eg. Kirrha, Secteur D, Krisa, Ensemble F, Unit IV-4 at Nichoria) and often the different parts of the building form separate units, sometimes with separate entrances and no intercommunication. These last can be characterised as double houses most probably corresponding to separate households. Passageways or corridors occur in larger houses where a central corridor divides the house into separate units which may be functionally different (e.g. Panagia House I (Catalogue D 9B), West House at Mycenae (Catalogue D 9A)).

However, it must also be noted that examples of houses exist which can not easily be seen in terms of a development from the one-axis groundplan. In House K at Eutresis (Catalogue D 3B), the axis of the anteroom is at a right-angle to the main axis of the house. In Unit IV-6 at Nichoria (Catalogue D 10B), the four rooms of the house are fitted into an approximately square groundplan.

Enclosed interior courtyards occur very rarely in Mycenaean houses, but there is most often an open space in front of the building.¹⁶ Several houses can also share a common courtyard as seems to have been

¹⁵ There has been a good deal of confusion concerning the use of the term *megaron* (cf. Darcque 1990). I use it to designate a building complex consisting of a main room (*domos*) with an anteroom (*prodomos*). The building is characterised by complete symmetry and the entrances are on-axis, sometimes with columns *in antis*. In some examples, there is an additional room behind the main room. In the palatial megaron, there is also a vestibule (*aithousa*) between the main room and the anteroom. The main function of this room may have been to monumentalise the approach to the main room of the megaron unit and the central room of the palace. Darcque has argued that on account of the confusion in its use, the term should be given up completely when referring to Mycenaean architecture. I feel, however, that it can be usefully retained since the megaron is a recognisable and distinct unit in Mycenaean architecture and constitutes the core of all the excavated palaces (with the exception of Gla). Cf. Kilian 1992, 14; Werner 1993, 4-5.

¹⁶ Interior courtyards occur in the larger houses at Mycenae such as the House of the Columns and the West House.

the case in Area II at Nichoria.¹⁷ This open area or exterior courtyard can be seen as necessary in being the source of light and air for the interior of the house and is so ubiquitous that it can probably be considered a functional extension of the house. The exterior courtyard was also incorporated into palace architecture and the court in front of the megaron unit is a regular feature of Mycenaean palatial architecture. The usual Mycenaean house can accordingly be characterised as outward looking. This is in contrast with the inward looking plan of the Classical and Hellenistic periods which was centred on an interior courtyard off which the rooms of the house opened.¹⁸

As previously noted, most Mycenaean houses consist of more than one room and smaller subsidiary rooms are located most often behind the main room. On the whole, there is little evidence for the use of individual rooms of the Mycenaean house. The subsidiary rooms are generally assumed to be for storage of produce from agriculture, household equipment and other supplies, since it is likely that the Mycenaean household was largely self-sufficient and therefore needed a certain amount of storage space. It seems reasonable to attribute the existence of more than one room as being due in most cases to the desire to keep the different functions of the house separate rather than to the desire to increase living space, more specifically to clearly separate living quarters from storage areas. If one assumes that windows were few and narrow and the main source of daylight was from the entrance, inadequate light would render the back rooms unsuitable for most daily household activities.¹⁹ Accordingly, one can define storerooms by their location in the house which seems fairly consistent, as well as by size; they are entered from the main room, are located in the further part of the house from the entrance so there is no traffic through them. Specific functional installations such as shelves, bins, pits or large storage jars have been found occasionally. Sherds from pithoi were found in the back room of House L at Korakou (Catalogue D 5B)²⁰ and a shelf and sunken pithos in Rooms 3 and 4 in Unit IV-6 at Nichoria (Catalogue D 10B).²¹ In many cases, however, the

¹⁷ Aschenbrenner et al. 1992, 366, Fig. 7-6.

¹⁸ Walker 1983; Jameson 1990, 97; Nevett 1994, 107-108.

¹⁹ Cf. Shear 1987, 23-24, fnt 41, 145.

²⁰ Blegen 1921, 83.

²¹ Aschenbrenner et al. 1992, 428.

artefactual evidence for the function of rooms identified as storerooms is meagre.

In some cases, the purpose of subsidiary rooms may have been to provide additional living space. This looks like being the case in House P at Korakou (Catalogue D 5D) where there were hearths in both the back rooms as well as in the main room; regarding House P, it can be suggested that the large room to the east which was not fully excavated was used as a storeroom.²²

All in all, Mycenaean houses can be characterised as architecturally non complex. The basic Mycenaean house is a rectangular building, and consisted of a front porch, a central room, and a back room lying along one axis. The rooms open into each other, and there is only one route through the house. This basic groundplan could be expanded in various ways. Completely symmetrical buildings seem to have been more common in the Middle Helladic period than in the Mycenaean, and the symmetrical megaron form can be seen as a model which was adapted and adjusted.

The disadvantages inherent in the basic plan of Mycenaean houses are fairly obvious. The rooms cannot function independently of each other since it is necessary to pass through the front room(s) in order to reach the back rooms. On the other hand, this type of layout increases security, since access into the various rooms can be easily controlled.

A survey of all houses where the location of the entrance could be ascertained shows that the orientation of the entrance is erratic, but a general preference for an orientation to the south or southeast is perhaps discernable. This seems to have been the case at Nichoria where there is a conformity in the orientation of the houses with the entrance towards the southeast.²³ In general, Mycenaean houses do not have the entrance towards the north (exceptions are House S at Ayios Kosmas (Catalogue D 1A), House V at Eutresis (Catalogue D 3C)).

The principles which determined the layout of Mycenaean dwellings clearly distinguish Mycenaean architecture from the agglutinative and more complex nature of Cretan architecture and indicate that Mycenaean architecture had its own distinctive character which does not closely compare with the architectural traditions of neighbouring areas.²⁴

²² Blegen 1921, 89.

²³ Walsh & McDonald 1992, 459, 465.

²⁴ Cf. Shear 1987, 153.

Most aspects of Mycenaean domestic architecture can be satisfactorily explained from a functional point of view. Rooms and buildings which are longer than they are broad and have the entrance in one short side or near one short side have an advantage in being easier to heat than rooms which are broader than they are long, since the hearth can be placed further away from the door, and drafts can be prevented from reaching the hearth. On the other hand, there is the disadvantage that the natural daylight is less satisfactorily exploited.²⁵ The prevalence of this type of architecture may therefore be due to a certain extent to climatic factors. Both bent-axis and off-axis entrances provide greater protection from the climate by reducing drafts than a direct axial entrance. A bent-axis approach provides the greater protection from wind and rain than an off-axis entrance, but has the disadvantage that still less natural light is provided for the interior of the house. Generally speaking, it seems that for the Mycenaeans keeping warm in winter was more important than maximising the use of natural light. That protection against the climate was a factor determining the position of the entrance can be seen in Ensemble E at Krisa (Catalogue D 6A) which initially consisted only of Room a. This room has a bent-axis entrance which is further protected by a projecting wall. In House V at Eutresis (Catalogue D 3C), there was an open porch facing north; cuttings in the floor indicate, however, that a screening wall was built in front of the porch at a later stage.²⁶ The existence of the anteroom or porch in very many houses can also be attributed to climatic factors. The anteroom or porch protects the main room from wind and rain and can also be seen as a shaded extension of the exterior courtyard.

A possible preference for an orientation of the entrance to the south or southeast mentioned above can also be attributed to climatic factors since this would provide the most sun in winter as well as protection from cold winds coming from the north and west.²⁷ House K at Eutresis has its main axis lying east/west, but the anteroom and the main entrance faces south. The unusual plan of this house can perhaps be explained by the desire of having the main entrance facing south and consequently, the house can be seen as related to the one-axis groundplan.

²⁵ Herzog 1980.

²⁶ Shear 1968, 374.

²⁷ Walsh & McDonald 1992, 465; see also Jameson 1990, 97-98; Hoepfner & Schwandner 1994, 318-319.

The same factors that secure the most protection from the weather for the interior of the house also ensure a certain degree of privacy from the outside world. The advantage of an off-axis or bent-axis approach is that it ensures greater privacy in that one could not look directly into the main room from the outside. Often, when there is an anteroom, the entrance between the anteroom and the main room are not on the same axis. In House L at Korakou, the entrance into the anteroom from the outside and from the anteroom into the main room were not on the same axis which meant that a person entering the house would have to cross the anteroom before being able to look into the main room.²⁸ The same arrangement can be surmised for House O and House H at Korakou (Catalogue D 5A, C), and can also be seen in the Panagia House I at Mycenae (Catalogue D 9B), and in Secteur D at Kirrha (Catalogue D 4), where the entrances from the outside into the anteroom and from the anteroom into the main room are not located directly opposite one another.²⁹ By not having the two doorways on the same axis, a concern for privacy as well as for protection against the wind seems evident. The anteroom can also be seen as an intermediate area since it serves to segregate and restrict access to the main room from the outside.

The Mycenaean cult buildings at Phylakopi, Mycenae, and Tiryns are built according to the same principles as Mycenaean dwellings. They are comparable in size and have the rooms arranged along one main axis (Tables 9, 13). The proportions of the main rooms of the Mycenaean cult buildings are comparable to those of the main rooms of Mycenaean houses (Figs. 58, 61). There is, as well, a clear division between the main room and the subsidiary rooms. Subsidiary rooms are not a feature of all of these cult buildings; they are found in the West Shrine at Phylakopi, in the Room with the Fresco Complex and in the Temple at Mycenae. In the West Shrine, there were two rooms placed side by side behind the main room. This same arrangement can be seen in LH III domestic architecture e.g. in House P at Korakou (Catalogue D 5D).

Indirect access, either off-axis or bent-axis, was particularly emphasised by Mazar and Stern as being a distinguishing feature of the group of Palestinian temples having an irregular plan.³⁰ This feature is also represented in some of the Mycenaean cult buildings; the East Shrine at

²⁸ Blegen 1921, 81-82.

²⁹ Shear 1968, 6.

³⁰ Mazar 1980, 65; Stern 1984, 32.

Phylakopi has a bent-axis approach as does the Room with the Fresco Complex at Mycenae, while the entrance to Room 117 at Tiryns is off-axis. Indirect access, however, both off-axis and bent-axis, is not a feature that is alien to the architectural tradition of the Aegean as stated by Negbi;³¹ it is therefore not necessary to explain its occurrence in some of the Mycenaean cult buildings as being a result of foreign influence. As has been discussed, examples of both off-axis and bent-axis approaches are represented in Mycenaean domestic architecture of the relevant period. In domestic architecture, an asymmetrical position of the entrance can be explained in purely functional terms; in sacred architecture, the position of the entrance may acquire a more symbolic meaning. The symbolic aspect of an off-axis or bent-axis entrance has already been discussed (cf. Chapter Three). In view of the potential symbolic importance of the entrance one could expect this feature to become standardised in religious architecture. Since this did not occur in Mycenaean religious architecture, it seems most reasonable to interpret the occurrence of asymmetrical entrances in Mycenaean cult buildings as a typical feature of Mycenaean architecture in general.

Furthermore, precise parallels for the fixed interior installations of the Mycenaean cult buildings can all be found in Mycenaean houses (Table 14). Built platforms made of stone or mud-brick covered with clay occur fairly frequently in Mycenaean houses. In House B at Eutresis (Catalogue D 3A), there were stone platforms along the north and east walls. In many of the houses at Korakou platforms were found in the corners of rooms, and a similar platform was found in House K at Eutresis (Catalogue D 3B). Such platform-like features are often unclear as to function, since they may be interpreted as benches, beds, or shelves.³² It was suggested by Blegen and Goldman that they may have been beds.³³ The size of most of these platforms suggests that this may have been so and they were probably also used as seats during the day. In many cases, however, it seems the platforms may have served as shelves on which to place things rather than for sitting or lying on. The platform in the ante-room of House L at Korakou (Catalogue D 5B) is too small to have been used for sleeping. In the House of the Shields at Mycenae there was a platform along the west wall of the west room. On it were found stone vases

³¹ 1988, 357.

³² Cf. Daviau 1993, 60.

³³ Blegen 1921, 93; Goldman 1931, 66.

and many pieces of carved ivory.³⁴ As well in Room 1 of the West House fragments of Linear B tablets were found which may originally have been placed on top of the platform.³⁵ The platform was also very low, only ca. 10 centimetres high. The platforms in Rooms 32 and 28 of Panagia House III were also presumably used as shelves as they were very low, ca. 15 centimetres high and were located in basement rooms.³⁶ Platforms can be considered a common functional installment in Mycenaean houses and some of them in the least served the same basic purpose as the platforms in the cult buildings. The location of the platforms within the rooms is often not comparable but this can be explained by the fact that the platforms in the cult buildings functioned as the focus-of-attention.

A built fireplace or hearth is a frequent feature of the main room, but it is by no means a necessary feature of all Mycenaean houses; at Nichoria for instance, a fixed hearth was recognised in only one house, Unit IV-4.³⁷ Mycenaean hearths were made of clay, sometimes covered with sherds and pebbles. Most often when there is a hearth it is located roughly in the centre of the main room, but examples can also be found where the hearth is placed close to one wall or in a corner, as in several of the houses at Malthi (e.g. B33,34,36-38,45, Catalogue D 7). The presence of a hearth indicates that the main living area of the house was often on the ground floor.

Posts also occur fairly frequently in Mycenaean private houses. The posts themselves were made of wood, but stone bases which kept the posts from sinking into the ground from the pressure of their own weight and the weight it supported and protected the post from moisture have been preserved. For instance, most of the houses at Korakou seem to have had wooden posts as support for the roof. They are found in antis or as internal supports. Posts in front of the facade as in Room 117 at Tiryns can be paralleled from palace architecture. A single row of internal posts is also fairly common e.g. in House L at Korakou (Catalogue D 5B), in Megaron B at Eleusis (Catalogue D2), in Unit IV-4 at Nichoria (Catalogue D 10A). A row of posts lying on the central axis of a room can be seen to be

³⁴ Shear 1968, 178; Tournavitou 1995B, 18, 22-23.

³⁵ Tournavitou 1995B, 9.

³⁶ Shear 1987, 53, 57.

³⁷ Walsh & McDonald 1992, 464. Shear (1968, 504, fnnt 22) suggests that most Mycenaean houses must have had hearths, but that the evidence has not always been recognised or has been dispersed. It seems, possible, however, that portable braziers could have been used for heating and cooking or that fires may have been built directly on the ground as seems to have been the case in Room b of Secteur D at Kिरrha (Dor et al. 1960, 40; cf. Jameson 1990, 98-99).

a disadvantage because they obstruct access down the centre of the room, and in fact more than two posts on the central axis occurs very rarely. A row of three posts as in the Temple at Mycenae can be seen, however, in Megaron W at Tiryns (Catalogue D 12). Four posts arranged in a square also occurs e.g. Mouriatadha. Posts in Mycenaean architecture were not only used for structural reasons but also had a monumentalising effect and a decorative function.³⁸ It is possible that the use of posts in private architecture was intended to evoke elite or palatial architecture and is a reflection of the social status of the household.

The only feature which is apparently unique is the staircase in the Temple at Mycenae. As already noted, foundations for interior staircases within houses have rarely been identified. In House P at Korakou, a narrow passage to the west of the anteroom may have been a stairwell.³⁹ In Unit IV-4 at Nichoria, a rectangular stone platform adjacent to the wall, the purpose of which is uncertain, could possibly be suggested as the foundation for an interior staircase.⁴⁰ If the stone platform in Unit IV-4 at Nichoria has been correctly identified as the foundation for a staircase, it provides a precise parallel for the location of a staircase within the main room of a building to the Temple at Mycenae. Furthermore, although this platform could also have been a bench, bed, or shelf as in other Mycenaean houses, the distribution of sherds strongly suggests that Unit IV-4 had a second storey.⁴¹

To summarise, it can be said that formally there are clear architectural similarities in the groundplans and internal features of Mycenaean domestic and sacred architecture.

Obviously this comparison between sacred and domestic architecture is valid only up to a certain point. Discussion of Mycenaean domestic architecture is necessarily limited by the fact that only wall foundations have survived so that most houses are known only by their groundplans. There is therefore little evidence concerning upper stories, windows or aspects such as interior decoration or external elaboration. It is quite likely

³⁸ Hiesel 1990, 225.

³⁹ Blegen 1921, 85.

⁴⁰ Aschenbrenner et al. 1992, 434-435, 439.

⁴¹ Aschenbrenner et al. 1992, 439. In the publication of the excavations at Nichoria, it was suggested that Unit IV-4 was not a ordinary house on account of the hearth and similarities with palatial megara (Walsh & McDonald, 1992, 469). There does not, however, seem to be any compelling reason why it could not have been an ordinary house. The main megaron unit has parallels with Ayios Kosmas and Mouriatadha. Rooms 3 and 4 were built some time after, possibly a generation later. Analogies can be found at Kirrha, Secteur D and Krisa, Ensemble F

that there may have been clear differences in external appearance between sacred and domestic structures.

Of relevance in this connection is the symbolic value of architectural features. Cross-cultural studies have shown that very often domestic architecture can be interpreted symbolically as well as functionally, and moreover that the symbolic aspects of the house may be the more important and have a determining effect on house form.⁴² Often, the symbolic and the functional aspects are intertwined, so that certain features can be explained both from a practical and symbolic viewpoint and it can be difficult to say which should be considered the more important in the structuring of domestic space.⁴³ For instance, a particular feature which was functional in origin could become invested with symbolic meaning over time.

As has been pointed out by Douglas, it would seem hopeless to expect to recover symbolic content from the material remains alone, without textual information.⁴⁴ Any suggestions thereof must therefore remain on the level of hypothesis. It is for instance not possible or at the least very difficult to ascertain in what way domestic architecture might embody cosmological ideas or the existence of symbolic divisions of space based on factors such as age or gender, although such divisions are well-attested in many societies.⁴⁵ In the Mycenaean context there are very obvious limitations in our lack of knowledge of Mycenaean cosmology, world view in general, and details of social organisation. Although it seems possible that symbolic aspects of Mycenaean domestic architecture may well have existed, the nature of the evidence indicates that we are not in a position to obtain a clear perception of them. Most features of Mycenaean houses, however, can be satisfactorily explained from a functional point of view which perhaps suggests that the utilitarian use of space and the environment as well as general cultural traditions were the more important factors determining the architectural form of Mycenaean houses.

It can probably be stated that a correspondance can be seen between symbolic content of house plan and recognisable formalism in plan. Since

⁴² For examples see: Rapoport 1969, 49-55; Olivier 1987, 153-170; Parker Pearson & Richards 1994A, B; several articles in Bourdier & AlSayyad 1989.

⁴³ Parker Pearson & Richards 1994A, 6; Hodder 1986, 52-53.

⁴⁴ 1972, 514; see also Donley-Reid 1990, 115.

⁴⁵ See, however, the analysis of Neolithic houses in the Orkneys in Parker Pearson & Richards 1994B for an example where symbolic gender division has been suggested for a prehistoric society. See also Hodder 1990, 8-11.

Mycenaean domestic architecture is based on a simple plan which allows for considerable variation, it is not possible to talk about a formalised house plan in Mycenaean domestic architecture. On the other hand, the principle of axuality and complete symmetry evident in the canonical megaron may have been a cultural tradition which originally reflected a symbolic principle in the ordering of domestic space. This is all the more probable since the megaron was the main ceremonial unit in the Mycenaean palaces, and the religious function of the palatial megaron is generally recognised. The fact that the principle of symmetry was often deviated from in ordinary houses in favour of, as it seems, environmental concerns indicates that the symbolic aspect of the house plan was not felt to be of overreaching importance. Possibly, with the development of Mycenaean palatial society, the significance of the symmetrical axial plan was retained only in the house of the ruler. Furthermore, Mycenaean houses can be said to be internally non-complex. There is no discernible regularity in the definition of space which could suggest social or symbolic dimensions in the use of space; for example, there is no fixed pattern in the placement of posts. On the whole, although it is possible that the dwelling space itself was considered sacred, it does not seem that the shape or size of Mycenaean houses was not determined by symbolic principles, and it seems that symbolic value or sacred meaning was not normally attached to the house form itself. Furthermore, considering the lack of consistent orientation in Mycenaean domestic architecture, ritual orientation of the house, a feature which is common in many cultures probably did not occur.⁴⁶

Ritual activities and symbolic meaning can also be associated with particular elements of the house. Hearths are in many cultures conceived of as having a symbolic meaning beyond their functional use for cooking and providing warmth. The hearth and fire are considered sacred because they represented a means of communicating with the divine and the fire that was used in cooking was also used for offerings to supernatural powers. In later Greek culture, the hearth symbolised as well, the unity of the household.⁴⁷ Many cultures consider a particular place to be the centre of the earth or to be particularly sacred and this place can be symbolically replicated in private dwellings by the hearth.⁴⁸ Hodder has sug-

⁴⁶ Rapoport 1969, 51; Parker Pearson & Richards 1994A, 14-18.

⁴⁷ Burkert 1985, 170, 255; Jameson 1990, 105-106.

⁴⁸ Parker Pearson & Richards 1994A, 12.

gested that the significance of the hearth developed in the Neolithic period and represents the establishment of cultural values where the hearth and the house, representing control of the wild, stood in opposition to the external undomesticated world.⁴⁹

The function of house entrances as the boundary between the safety of the home and the dangers of the external world, between the domestic and the foreign, is often symbolically articulated. The boundary between exterior and interior of the house additionally often symbolises an area of contact between the natural and the supernatural worlds, and entrances and in particular thresholds are often conceived as liminal zones.⁵⁰ The entrance can also be seen negatively as the entrance also for evil such as malignant spirits, death or disease, and therefore in need of special divine protection.

The archaeological evidence shows that both the hearth and the entrance had symbolic significance for the Mycenaeans. The large size and elaborate polychrome decoration of the hearths of the palatial megara have generally been assumed to indicate a symbolic significance and a ceremonial or ritual function.⁵¹ Likewise, the hearths found in ordinary Mycenaean houses probably had a symbolic significance. Although the usual central location of the hearth within the room can be easily explained from a functional point of view in providing the maximum warmth and light for the whole room, it may also emphasise the symbolic significance of the hearth in the household cult. Examples of particular elaboration of the entrance can be found in Mycenaean houses; thresholds were often carefully paved with stone, made of wood, or consisted of a large stone block. The existence in some houses of posts in the doorway could be interpreted as symbolic elaboration of the entrance (e.g. Ayios Kosmas, House T, House S, Korakou, House L).

The most significant evidence indicating that symbolic meaning was attached to the hearth and entrance is provided by the small terracotta figurines which have been found in large quantities in Mycenaean settlements. As has been pointed out by Kilian, these figurines are often found near both doors and fireplaces of Mycenaean houses.⁵² In Unit IV-4 at Nichoria, a nest of three vases was found deposited near the hearth and

⁴⁹ 1990, 294; 1992, 243.

⁵⁰ Parker Pearson & Richards 1994A, 24-29; Hodder 1990, 129-130, 137.

⁵¹ J. Wright 1994, 57-60, 1995, 346. For an emphasis on the more utilitarian uses of the hearth in the palatial megara see de Pierpont 1990.

⁵² 1988A, 148, Fig. 16.

may have been used in some ritual connected with the hearth; a fragment of a terracotta figurine was also found close to the hearth.⁵³ Kilian has suggested that the figurines found in connection with entrances and hearths in Mycenaean houses may have had an apotropaic function. This seems reasonable since they are also frequently found in graves, presumably providing protection for the dead. Vernant has argued that in later Greek religion, Hermes and Hestia symbolised the contrast between exterior and interior, between private and public space and were paired in cult because they shared an affinity of function as guardians of the hearth and entrance.⁵⁴ It is possible that the place of Hestia and Hermes in later Greek domestic cult is a survival or development of a similar cult in the Bronze Age. It is perhaps worth remarking in this connection that Hermes has been identified on the Linear B tablets.

Regarding the Mycenaean cult buildings, as already discussed in Chapter One, lack of formalised plan and consistent orientation suggest that these features did not have any symbolic or cosmological significance. Elaboration of the entrance occurs at Mycenae in the Room with the Fresco Complex, Tiryns, Phylakopi. The entrance into the Room with the Fresco Complex is characterised by intentional monumentality. The entrance is very wide and the threshold consisted of a long slab of conglomerate, of a type which is not found elsewhere at the site.⁵⁵ At Tiryns, the entrance to Room 117 was marked by posts. The entrance to the West Shrine at Phylakopi was marked by the *baetyl*. In addition, as already noted in Chapter Three, entrances into cult buildings derive significance from being the boundary between sacred and profane space. Features which have been or could be identified as hearths occur in the cult building at Methana, and in the Megaron, the Room with the Fresco Complex, Gamma I of Tsountas' House Shrine in the Cult Centre at Mycenae. If any of these features are correctly identified as hearths, it seems very reasonable to suggest that the presence of a hearth in Mycenaean cult buildings is associated with the importance of the hearth in domestic and palatial cult.

Columns are often considered as having a cultic significance within Minoan-Mycenaean civilisation. The evidence for this being the case on the Mainland is thin and ambiguous. In any case, even if columns

⁵³ Aschenbrenner et al. 1992, 435-438.

⁵⁴ 1983, 127-175.

⁵⁵ Taylour 1970, 274-275.

were at times considered sacred as aniconic representations of the deity, within Mycenaean civilisation, this surely would only have applied to free-standing columns. There is, therefore, no need to assume that the posts in the Temple at Mycenae or in Room 117 at Tiryns had any deeper significance beyond structural and decorative reasons.⁵⁶

To conclude, it is unnecessary to look beyond the Greek Mainland for architectural parallels to Mycenaean temple architecture and there is no need to explain its origin by surmising the existence of foreign models. The obvious similarity in basic conception and architectural detail between Mycenaean sacred and domestic architecture indicate it would seem clearly that Mycenaean sacred architecture developed out of local domestic architecture, and that Mycenaean dwellings provided the models for the Mycenaean cult buildings. The origin of Mycenaean sacred architecture in Mycenaean domestic architecture explains the lack of uniformity and regularised plan. Despite the substantial differences between them, the Mycenaean cult buildings at Mycenae, Tiryns, and Phylakopi can, accordingly, be considered typologically related. The variety found in the architectural form reflects the fact that there is no canonical Mycenaean house-plan; the Mycenaean cult buildings are based on Mycenaean domestic architecture in general and not on the groundplan of any one particular house. The variations in the architectural details reflect the variety of Mycenaean domestic architecture, as well as differences in the individual topographical conditions. The development of Mycenaean sacred architecture from local architectural traditions confirms to the general impression of Mycenaean architecture which owes very little to outside influences, and it can be said that the Mycenaean architectural tradition was not receptive to foreign influences.⁵⁷

That domestic architecture should have provided the model for sacred architecture is easily comprehensible; the sanctuary is conceived as the dwelling of the deity. This is a widespread concept and parallels for the origin of sacred architecture in a culture's domestic architecture can be found. For example, the design of Hindu temples is based on the same principles used for the construction of houses, palaces, and the laying out of cities.⁵⁸ Hindu temples were built primarily to shelter the images that

⁵⁶ See, however, J. Wright (1994, 58-59) for a discussion of the symbolic value of columns in Mycenaean culture.

⁵⁷ Kilian 1987, 36.

⁵⁸ Lewandowski 1980, 126.

focus worship. Mesopotamian temples were considered the abode for the deity who owned it; accordingly, the plan of some Mesopotamian temples is that of private houses.⁵⁹

The development of early Palestinian temple architecture provides a useful analogy to that of the origin and development of Mycenaean temple architecture since it can be said that the temple architecture of both countries had a parallel pattern of development.

The derivation of Palestinian temples from domestic architecture is well-established and is as well reflected in the language; the word for house is also the normal word for temple. Palestinian temples of the late Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Ages are clearly religious versions of the standard Chalcolithic-Early Bronze Age houseplan.⁶⁰ An example is the Chalcolithic temple at Engedi which has a simple broadroom plan corresponding to the basic type of village house in Palestine and South Syria.⁶¹

The identification of a building as a structure dedicated to cult can be based on the architecture, the fixed interior installations, or the moveable finds. Since, the architectural form of the Mycenaean cult buildings is based on the conventions of domestic architecture, and there seem to be no special adaptations made for a religious function nor any tendencies towards monumentality, the identification of Mycenaean cult buildings cannot be based on the architecture, but must be made partly on the basis of the fixed interior installations and primarily the moveable finds. Although the platforms within the main rooms of the West Shrine and East Shrine at Phylakopi, the Temple and the Room with the Fresco Complex, Tsountas' House Shrine at Mycenae, Room 117, Room 110, Room 110a at Tiryns as well as perhaps Room XXXII in House G at Asine can certainly be regarded as special installations directly connected with ritual activity, they are, with the exception perhaps of the series of platforms in the Temple at Mycenae and the stepped platform at Methana, not distinguishable by themselves from the platforms found within ordinary dwellings. A ritual function can only be ascertained in conjunction with the moveable finds as was done at Phylakopi, where the platforms within the buildings could be interpreted as special installations used for some form of ritual activity in light of the objects found in connection with them, and consequently the buildings could be considered cult build-

⁵⁹ Jacobsen 1985, 284-285.

⁶⁰ Kempinski 1992, 54; Ben-Tor 1973, 25.

⁶¹ Ussishkin 1980, 1-44.

ings.⁶² There is no one specific type of plan which can be definitely associated with Mycenaean cult buildings.

The main argument against a Levantine origin of the Mycenaean cult buildings is the close similarity between Mycenaean religious and domestic architecture, which strongly suggests that the origin of Mycenaean cult buildings is to be found in local architectural traditions.

Although the idea of direct architectural influence can be ruled out, it could be suggested that the Mycenaeans although making use of their own architectural tradition, received the idea of constructing buildings specifically dedicated to cult from the Near East. For this to be the case, in addition to demonstrating close cultural interaction between the Levant and the Aegean, it would be necessary to show that the Mycenaean cult buildings do in fact represent a LH III innovation and that in earlier periods, the Mycenaeans did not find it necessary to construct buildings solely for religious purposes.

⁶² Renfrew 1985, 361-365.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TEMPLE AT AYIA IRINI ON KEOS AND THE MYCENAEAN CULT BUILDINGS

The Temple at Ayia Irini on Keos is the earliest undoubted religious structure as yet found in the Aegean and consequently in discussing the origin of the Mycenaean cult buildings, it is important to consider their possible relationship to the Temple at Ayia Irini.¹

The Temple at Ayia Irini on Keos (Fig. 62) was first built in the Middle Bronze Age and continued in use throughout the Bronze Age and afterwards. The main architectural characteristics of the temple remain the same throughout its use. It was a free-standing building and consisted of a series of long narrow rooms with platforms against the long walls.² The earliest part of the building are Rooms 1 and 2 but the other rooms were added shortly afterwards, before the end of the Middle Bronze Age.³ The entrance is not preserved, but must have been in the short end facing the sea. To the north/west of the temple, there was a small court. On the north/east side of the temple there was a road entered through a portal at the north/west end and on the south/west side, there was a narrow alley.

In the LH IIIA1 period, that is, somewhat earlier than the building of the West Shrine at Phylakopi, the Temple was remodelled following an earthquake. The temple now consists of Rooms 6, 3, and 1; corridor 5 also continued in use. On either side of the doorway of Room 6 leading into Room 3 were built pi-shaped structures. There is a platform along the south/west wall.⁴ The stone base of a wooden post was located almost on the central axis in the south/east part of the room.⁵ A stone base was also found in Room 3.⁶ The building may have had an upper storey.⁷

¹ The possible significance of the Temple at Ayia Irini as a precursor to the West Shrine at Phylakopi is considered by Renfrew (1985, 411).

² M. Caskey 1981, 127.

³ J. Caskey 1964, 369.

⁴ J. Caskey 1971, 386.

⁵ J. Caskey 1971, 386.

⁶ J. Caskey 1966, 369.

⁷ J. Caskey 1964, 326-327.

In the LH IIIC period, there is a further remodelling of the Temple. In Room 6 platforms are built along both long walls and along the north/west wall on either side of the doorway leading into Room 3 covering the pi-shaped structures of the earlier phase.⁸ A low rectangular platform (2.10 x 1.15) is built in the centre of the room.

The basic similarity in architecture between the Temple at Ayia Irini at Keos and the Mycenaean cult buildings at Mycenae, Phylakopi, and Tiryns is evident. As well the pi-shaped structures in the corners of the main sanctuary room resemble the platforms in the West Shrine at Phylakopi.⁹ The basic plan of the Temple with rooms lying sequentially opening into each other is comparable to Mycenaean domestic architecture as well as, it would seem, to that found on Keos. The Temple is similar in plan to e.g. House F at Ayia Irini.¹⁰

The terracotta statues found in the Temple at Ayia Irini also provide affinities with the cult buildings at Mycenae, Phylakopi, and Tiryns. Most of the statues date from before the destruction at the end of LH II and are therefore earlier in date, perhaps considerably, than the Mycenaean statues. However, at least one statue was made after the restoration of the temple in LH IIIA1 showing continuity of cult. Stylistically they recall Cretan figurines, in particular, the ones from the Peak Sanctuary at Piskokephalo.¹¹ However, the large size of the Kean figures is not a common Cretan characteristic before the LM III period, and the occurrence of the statues of the Goddess with Upraised Arms.¹² As well, they are found in a different type of religious context, since the majority of the Cretan figurines have been found on Peak Sanctuaries. The resemblance to Minoan figurines, therefore, should probably not be taken as an indication of Minoan cult on Keos or of Minoan influence on Kean cult, but rather as a reflection of the pervasiveness of Minoan artistic influences in the Aegean at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age.

The large size of the clay statues and their find context within a cult building suggests that they may have functioned in the same way as the terracotta statues from the cult buildings at Mycenae, Phylakopi, and Tiryns, although unfortunately, no direct evidence was found to show

⁸ J. Caskey 1971, 386.

⁹ Renfrew 1985, 294.

¹⁰ J. Caskey 1971, 386-387.

¹¹ M. Caskey 1986, 36-37.

¹² Apparently, however, large-scale terracotta figures dating to an earlier period have been found at Kophinas, Petsofa, and elsewhere on Crete (Laviosa 1963-64, 24).

how the statues from the Temple at Ayia Irini might have been displayed at any time. As well, it is worth mentioning that they are made in a similar technique to the large monochrome statues from Mycenae.¹³

The Temple is topographically closely connected with House A, the largest and most important house at Ayia Irini, and no doubt the administrative centre. The proximity of the Temple to House A suggests a connection between administration and cult analogous to that at Mycenae and arguably at Phylakopi and Tiryns.

In its final form, House A is a complex of small rooms arranged along parallel axes. This is a more complex version of the plan of many Kean houses and is closely comparable to Mycenaean domestic architecture (see Chapter Six). House A, however, also incorporates elements of Minoan architecture which are not found on the Mainland;¹⁴ it is therefore unlikely that House A represents a Mainland administrative presence on Keos. There is in fact no reason to believe that Keos was under Mainland domination at the time when the first temple was built. There is no conclusive evidence to determine whether administration was local or from outside. Much Mainland pottery, clearly LH I in date has been found at Ayia Irini.¹⁵ This is only what would have been expected, given the close proximity of Keos to the Mainland, and the beginning of the Late Bronze Age is also marked by a considerable increase in the number of Minoan imports and local imitations thereof.

House A was destroyed by an earthquake at the end of Period VII (LH II). In the following period, it is partially rebuilt, but no longer functions as an administrative centre. At the same time, there is a change in the material culture, which is now characterised by an almost total lack of Minoan imports and evidence of an overwhelming Mycenaean presence.¹⁶ This suggests that Keos might now have come under Mycenaean domination. As previously stated, the Temple was restored at this time. If Keos was now ruled by the Mycenaeans, the restoration would most probably have been done by the Mycenaeans. The fact, however, that the same basic plan is continued and there are no fundamental changes within the temple indicates that the arrangement of the LH IIIA temple is not a Mycenaean innovation. The pi-shaped structures are a new feature

¹³ Moore 1988B, 61.

¹⁴ Cummer & Schofield 1984, 41.

¹⁵ Cherry & Davis 1982, 333-341.

¹⁶ Cummer & Schofield 1984, 146.

of the LH III rebuilding. However, there were platforms in the temple in earlier phases.¹⁷ Presumably they served the same function.

Several factors therefore indicate that the Temple at Ayia Irini on Keos belongs within the religious sphere of the Mainland. Moreover, the Temple yielded little of the equipment generally associated with Cretan cult which suggests that the religious culture of Keos had more in common with the Mainland than with Crete.¹⁸

The significance of the Temple at Ayia Irini in this connection is that it shows that at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age the idea of a separate building set aside for cult purposes already existed in the Aegean. The similarities between the Temple at Ayia Irini and the cult buildings at Mycenae, Phylakopi, and Tiryns suggest that the latter are part of a religious architectural tradition which can be traced back to the Middle Bronze Age. Consequently, the Mycenaean cult buildings can be considered native to the Aegean both in concept and in architectural tradition. As mentioned in the introduction Rutkowski and van Leuven argue for a tradition of Aegean religious architecture going back to the Neolithic. For this there is no evidence, and *prima facie* it seems unlikely that there was a continuing tradition from the Neolithic to the end of the Bronze Age. The suggestion that the Temple at Ayia Irini was not an isolated phenomenon does not seem implausible, and the hypothesis can be put forward that Mycenaean religious architecture originated during, perhaps towards the end of, the Middle Bronze Age, although there is at present no further evidence.

¹⁷ J. Caskey 1971, 359-396.

¹⁸ M. Caskey 1986, 38. J. Davis (1984A, 164), however, considers that the figures reflect Minoan cult practices adopted by the Keans at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age.

THE FUNCTION OF THE MYCENAEAN CULT BUILDINGS

Clearly related to the architectural form of cult buildings, is the question of their precise function within the context of that culture's religion. Metaphysically, any sanctuary can be said to belong to the liminal zone, which separates the natural world from the supernatural, and therefore represent a link between these two worlds.¹ By entering a place set apart for cult therefore, one comes into contact with the supernatural, and this can be a means of communicating with the divine.

In general terms, cult buildings can be classified into two categories according to function. In the one instance, they are considered as the abode of the deity where the deity is believed either to be permanently in residence or to appear at certain times usually in connection with particular rituals; in the other, they function as halls of assembly for congregational worship, and the buildings derive their sanctity from being consecrated to ritual activity.² A clear example of the distinction between the two types can be seen in Israel where in the centuries leading up to the destruction of the Temple in 70 AD, the Temple in Jerusalem was regarded as the house of God, while synagogues were houses of prayer and functioned as places of assembly for congregational worship.³ These two categories are not necessarily mutually exclusive, since a cult building can be regarded as the dwelling place of a deity as well as functioning as a centre for organised ritual activity. An example is the Hindu temple which provides space for worshippers and organised ritual activity in addition to its primary function as a shelter for the cult image. A frequent corollary to the concept of the cult building as the abode of the

¹ Renfrew 1985, 16-17; Encyclopedia of Religion *vs* Temple, Sanctuary; Turner 1979, 22; A useful and concise definition can be found in Schachter 1992, 56: "A sanctuary is a place where a person or people expects to come into contact with a supernatural force or being".

² For detailed discussion on the function of sacred buildings see: G. Wright 1985, 225-227; Turner 1979, 11.

³ Throughout the Old Testament, the Temple of Jerusalem is called *beit YHVH*. The temple served as the earthly residence of God and was designed to replicate his celestial estate, 1Kings 8 (Haran 1988); White 1990, 60-101.

deity, is that it is also an *adyton*, entered only by priests while access is forbidden to others. Public communal ritual activity took place elsewhere, often in open courts, directly connected to the temple as in the monumental temples in Palestine, e.g. the temples at Hazor or Shechem. In a similar way, the innermost sanctuary of Egyptian temples was the abode of the deity and entered only by priests, while public ritual took place in the temple's courtyards. In later Greek sanctuaries, communal public ritual activity was centred around the altar outside the temple while the temple building itself was the house of the god and sheltered its cult image. In South Indian temples, only the officiating priest was allowed into the innermost shrine of the temple where the cult image was kept.⁴

Although it may not be possible to say anything definite about how Mycenaean cult buildings may have functioned, some tentative remarks can be made. The close similarities between Mycenaean sanctuaries and contemporary domestic architecture, which I have tried to demonstrate, indicate that it is very possible that they were considered divine dwellings. As well, the Mycenaean form of the word *oikos*, meaning house, was possibly used on the Linear B tablets to designate a cult building.⁵ The previously mentioned chariot krater from Kalavassos on Cyprus (cf. Chapter One) depicts a female figure seated within the shrine.⁶ The scene can convincingly be interpreted as showing a goddess present in her earthly residence. Objects that almost certainly can be classified as votive offerings were found within all of the cult buildings which indicates that they were probably not *adyta*. Whether Mycenaean cult buildings were also used for organised ritual activity is perhaps less clear. Because of their relatively small size, they were not suitable for large gatherings; in the West Shrine, which is the largest of the Mycenaean cult buildings, there was only room for a very small part of the population of Phylakopi.⁷ Open areas or courtyards were found in connection with the sanctuaries at Phylakopi, Mycenae, and Tiryns but these courtyards are of relatively small size and could not have been used for large gatherings. It is there-

⁴ Lewandowski 1980, 127.

⁵ Spyropoulos & Chadwick 1975, 88-89. For a somewhat different interpretation, however, of *oikos* used about temples in the Linear B tablets see Hiller 1981, 99-103. *Naos*, the normal word for temple in later Greek and cognate with the verb 'to dwell', is possibly also used to indicate temple in Linear B; however, the word occurs only once, on a tablet from Thebes, and its meaning is not completely clear (Carrier 1987, 257; Hiller 1981, 98-99).

⁶ Steel 1994, fig. 2, pl. 37a-b.

⁷ Renfrew 1985, 390.

fore arguable that Mycenaean cult buildings were not associated with organised ritual activity and that this took place elsewhere. On the other hand, participation in ritual activity may have been restricted in some way, involving only a small number of people; although small, the Mycenaean sanctuaries are not too small for human activities to have taken place within them.

Moreover, finds from the sanctuaries do suggest that some form of ritual activity did take place within them. Lamps and braziers were found in the Temple at Mycenae and at Phylakopi and could have been used in ritual. Rhyta found within Room 117 and Room 110 at Tiryns as well as in Room A at Methana and at Phylakopi indicate libations.⁸ Rhyta were also found in the area of the Cult Centre at Mycenae, but from late and unspecifiable contexts; it seems likely that their original contexts were within the cult buildings.⁹ Triton shells were found in the East Shrine, the West Shrine, and in the Cult Building at Methana. Triton shells are well documented from religious contexts on Crete, and the finds at Phylakopi and at Methana indicate that they also were used in cult on the Mainland, a usage that was in all probability derived from Crete.¹⁰ Examples from Minoan cultic contexts show that both worked shells (modified by a hole in the apex) and unworked shells occur. Shells that were unworked may have been votives or used as containers for food offerings, while worked shells have traditionally been interpreted as trumpets.¹¹ Both types may, however, have been most commonly used as libation vessels. A stone rhyton from Malia in the form of a triton shell is decorated with a libation scene with two daemons.¹² A well known seal from the Idaean cave with a scene of cultic activity involving a triton shell apparently shows an unmodified shell.¹³ The seal is therefore not likely to show the use of a triton shell as a trumpet. Rather, it is more likely to be interpreted as the act of pouring liquid offering on to an altar.¹⁴ The two triton shells from Phylakopi were both modified at the

⁸ Kilian 1979, 390; Renfrew 1985, 239, 275, 324; Konsolaki 1995, 242.

⁹ Evely 1992, 5.

¹⁰ Åström (Åström & Reese 1990, 6) suggested that the non-occurrence of triton shells in Mainland sanctuaries could be taken as an example of differences in Minoan and Mycenaean cult. The two examples from Phylakopi could certainly have been explained as remnants of earlier Minoan cult on Melos, but the example found at Methana indicates their use also by the Mycenaeans in a cultic connection.

¹¹ E.g. Renfrew 1985, 363-364; Åström & Reese 1990, 7, 11.

¹² Baurain & Darcque 1983, 57-58.

¹³ Evans 1936, fig. 162; Baurain & Darcque 1983, 55.

¹⁴ Baurain & Darcque 1983, 57; N. Marinatos 1993, 6.

apex, although in the one case, it may not have been the result of intentional modification.¹⁵ The shell found at Methana was worked.¹⁶ As has already been mentioned, libations are also indicated by the jar and jar necks found embedded in the ground in Room 33, Room xxv, and associated with the horseshoe-shaped platform in Gamma 1 in the Cult Centre at Mycenae. It also seems very likely that the jug found in the corner, near the platform in Room XXXII at Asine was used as a receptacle for libations as it was found standing upside down on the ground and its bottom had been deliberately broken.¹⁷

The central role of libations in Mycenaean ritual activity has been emphasised by Hägg.¹⁸ He suggests that perhaps the kylix may have been the most common Mycenaean libation vessel and that libations were connected with drinking.¹⁹ In the palace at Pylos, miniature kylikes were found associated with a tripod offering table close to the hearth of the megaron, reflecting the probable use of the kylix as a libation vessel.²⁰ There is also other evidence that ritual activity involving libations took place in the palace megara.²¹ Hägg has further suggested the likelihood that libations were important in everyday household cult and that ordinary domestic pottery such as cups, jugs, and bowls were used.²² Pottery associated with drinking (kylikes, goblets) was found in all the sanctuaries and would seem to indicate that rituals involving drinking accompanied by libations were a feature of Mycenaean cult activity. For instance, a large number of kylikes was found in the Room with the Fresco Complex and kylikes seem also to have been predominant in the deposit at Tsoungiza.²³ A large number of fragments of kylikes were found in the courtyard in front of Room 93 at Pylos as well as in Room 93 itself, and a large number of drinking vessels were also found in all phases of the Temple at Ayia Irini on Keos.²⁴ As previously mentioned (Chapter Six), the occurrence of a hearth in certain cult buildings may be connected to the importance of the hearth in domestic and palatial cult. J. Wright has

¹⁵ Renfrew 1985, 368.

¹⁶ Konsolaki 1996, 72.

¹⁷ Hägg 1990, 181.

¹⁸ 1990.

¹⁹ 1990, 183. See also J. Wright 1995, 346.

²⁰ Blegen & Rawson 1966, 85-87; Hägg 1990, 183; 1995, 390.

²¹ Cf. Hägg 1990, 1995.

²² 1990, 184.

²³ J. Wright 1990, 636; 1994, 69.

²⁴ Blegen & Rawson 1966, 303; M. Caskey 1981, 127.

suggested that libations were associated with the hearth.²⁵ Accordingly, a connection can be suggested between rites performed in the cult buildings and those performed in a palatial setting and in household cult.

The preparation of food and ritual meals are indicated by the presence of cooking ware and the probability that animal sacrifice was associated with these cult buildings.²⁶ Cooking ware was found in the cult building at Methana in connection with the hearth, in the Room with the Fresco Complex at Mycenae, and at Phylakopi. Stone tools are a fairly common occurrence in sanctuaries in the Aegean, Cyprus, and the Near East; they could have been used for the grinding of grain either for offerings or in connection with food preparation. A number of querns and mortars were found in the sanctuary at Phylakopi.²⁷ Mortars were also found in the anteroom of the Temple and the anteroom of the Room with the Fresco Complex.²⁸ Stone tools, mainly grinders and pounders, were found in Room D of the cult building at Methana.²⁹

Mylonas has suggested that the platform and boulder in Gamma 1 of Tsountas' House Shrine were used for slaughtering sacrificial animals and that when these were covered over, the rectangular structure in the courtyard was built as a replacement.³⁰ At Methana and at Phylakopi animal bones were found in the sanctuary area.³¹ Bones from small animals were found in the court to the south of the Temple in the Cult Centre at Mycenae and they can probably be connected with the altar in the courtyard.³² Animal bones were also found in the sanctuaries at Tiryns.³³ The hearth in the Megaron was covered in thick ash mixed with animal bones.³⁴ The platform in the centre of Room 18 at Mycenae showed no traces of burning and must have served a different purpose. It could have been used for libations or for the deposition of votives. A similar platform existed in the LH IIIC level of the Temple at Ayia Irini on Keos where traces of burning were, however, discovered around its sides. Evidence of burning was observable in all levels of the Temple at

²⁵ 1995, 346.

²⁶ Ritual meals are referred to in the Linear B tablets (Chadwick 1985, 201); cf. Hägg 1995, 388.

²⁷ Renfrew 1985, 387-388.

²⁸ Evely 1992, 4.

²⁹ Konsolaki 1996, 73.

³⁰ 1982, 313.

³¹ Konsolaki 1996, 73; Renfrew 1985, 388, 479-483.

³² Mylonas 1973B, 102; 1982, 316.

³³ Kilian 1981, 49-58

³⁴ Taylour & Papadimitriou 1963, 82-84.

Ayia Irini and have been interpreted as indicating the importance of sacrifice in the cult practised in the sanctuary.³⁵ It was pointed out that at Phylakopi, the animal bone assemblages found in the sanctuary do not differ in any way from those found elsewhere on the site.³⁶ The bones were predominately sheep/goat although cattle and pig were also represented. The same mixture of animals was also represented in the bones found at Tiryns. The animal bones found at the altar in the sanctuary at Kynortion above Epidauros were predominantly from bulls and goats.³⁷ Bulls, goats, sheep, and pigs are mentioned in the Pylos tablets in religious contexts.³⁸ It could therefore be suggested that the Mycenaeans did not select animals for sacrifice on the basis of particular species. In contradiction, however, at Methana, the bone material from Room A consisted mainly of the bones from very young pigs while bones from sheep and goats predominated in the other rooms of the building.³⁹ This would seem to indicate that in certain contexts animals of a particular species and age were chosen for sacrifice according to ritual requirements.

Although, it is possible to suggest that the animal bones as well as the cooking ware and stone tools are derived from the ordinary domestic activity of the people connected with the cult buildings and not directly related to cultic activities, the fact that bones were found in connection with all of these sanctuaries as well as the evidence for selection from Methana suggest that animal sacrifice had a part in the cult connected to these sanctuaries.⁴⁰ Burnt animal sacrifice does not seem to have been practised. In a discussion of the archaeological evidence, Bergquist argues that no structures suitable for burnt animal sacrifice have been found in the Aegean in the Bronze Age.⁴¹ Mylonas states positively that the majority of the bones found near the altar in the courtyard at Mycenae were not burnt, nor is there evidence of burnt sacrifice in the bones recovered at Phylakopi.⁴² It can be assumed that the slaughtered animal was ritually consumed in some way. Possibly the deity or deities were believed

³⁵ M. Caskey 1981, 127. M. Caskey writes of burnt animal sacrifice, but does not state definitely that the material included burnt animal bones.

³⁶ Renfrew 1985, 388.

³⁷ Lambrinoudakis 1981, 59.

³⁸ Chadwick 1985, 200.

³⁹ Konsolaki 1996, 73.

⁴⁰ See also Albers 1994, 132-134.

⁴¹ For a definition of burnt animal sacrifice and a discussion of sacrificial practices in Bronze Age and Iron Age Greece see Bergquist 1988, 21-34; 1993.

⁴² 1973B, 103; 1982, 316; Gamble in Renfrew 1985, 479-483.

to be present during ritual meals and to partake of the food along with the cult celebrants, or cooked food, which would later be consumed by the cult personnel, may have been offered to the deity. It is also possible that a certain part of the animal was consecrated to the deity or that the blood was used in libations.⁴³

To summarise, there is then a certain amount of evidence for ritual activity within these cult buildings. It also seems clear that they were not used for large-scale rituals involving the entire community; only a quite limited number of people could have taken part. It is probable that participation in ritual activity was limited to members of the elite or to priests who performed ritual activities on behalf of the community or on behalf of the ruling elite.⁴⁴

When sacred buildings are regarded as divine dwellings the presence of the deity is usually represented in some way, either by a cult image or by a symbolic representation. When ritual activity also takes place within the sanctuaries, the cult image is the focus of the ritual. It is therefore important to consider whether the clay human figures found within the Mycenaean cult buildings are to be considered as cult images. The clay human figures found at Mycenae within the Temple and Room 32 of the Room with the Fresco Complex were classified into two groups by Taylour.⁴⁵ One group consists of the larger figures which are monochrome and have a forbidding appearance; the other group consists of smaller decorated figures which have a more benign expression. This last group corresponds to Type A according to French's typology of Mycenaean clay figures while the larger forbidding type corresponds to her Type B.⁴⁶ Type B is as yet only represented at Mycenae. The female clay figures found at Phylakopi and at Tiryns are all of the Type A group. Male figures were found at Phylakopi. Since the find contexts of all types of clay human figures within the cult buildings were similar, it should follow that they should all be interpreted in the same way.

Moore has interpreted the large monochrome statues with forbidding aspect from Mycenae, including the one found *in situ* on the

⁴³ Cf. Bergquist 1993, 23, 34. There is no evidence that blood libations were a part of Mycenaean cult activity, but an association between sacrifice and blood libations has been suggested by Hägg (1990, 178, 183). Hägg suggests that the installations in Room Gamma 1 could indicate sacrifice accompanied by blood libations. On blood libations in Minoan religious practices see: N. Marinatos 1986, 25-29.

⁴⁴ Cf. Kilian 1992, 20.

⁴⁵ 1970, 278.

⁴⁶ 1981, 173-178.

platform within the Temple as representations of cult celebrants.⁴⁷ He divides the figures into two groups on the basis of posture: those with raised arms and those with axe-hammers. He concludes that those with raised arms give the impression of offering rather than of accepting worship, while the axe-hammer bearers can be seen as taking part in some form of sacrificial activity. As well, the poses of the figures seem to be of greater importance than the individual identity of the figures; the cultic function of the figures can therefore be interpreted as a continuous representation of cult activity.⁴⁸ If Moore's arguments are correct, his interpretation of the function of Mycenaean clay figures should also be valid for the human clay figures found on or near the platforms at Phylakopi, Methana, and Tiryns. At Methana, only one female figure was found, of a hollow Psi type. The arm position of the "Lady of Phylakopi" is unknown but she could have had upraised arms. The male figures seem to have varied arm positions and two were definitely carrying something. The female figures found at Tiryns all have upraised arms. It has been suggested by French that necklaces could have been strung between the arms of some of the figures.⁴⁹ Considerable amounts of beads were commonly found within the sanctuaries suggesting that items of jewellery could be votive offerings.⁵⁰ Forty-four beads were found in front of the clay figure found *in situ* on the bench in Room 32 at Mycenae and could have come from a necklace held between the arms of the figure. This is also indicated by a fresco fragment from Mycenae found in Corridor M of the South West House which depicts the upperpart of a woman holding a necklace in one hand. She is probably part of a procession scene showing women with offerings.⁵¹ According to Mylonas, the South West House was also part of the Cult Centre; he interprets it as the priest's house.⁵²

Interpreting the clay human figures as votaries, rather than as representations of deities and possibly cult images, is also suggested by the theory of continuity from the Middle Helladic period. At least thirty-two

⁴⁷ 1987A.

⁴⁸ A parallel can be seen in the votive statues from Tell Asmar and other sites in Mesopotamia where the figures are not meant to represent the worshipper so much as to give concrete form to prayer and to ensure that it will be repeated continuously. The depiction of acts of worship is also found in Cypriote religious art (Connelly 1989, 210-218; 1991, 93-100).

⁴⁹ Taylour 1970, 277.

⁵⁰ Cf. Renfrew 1985, 317.

⁵¹ Kritseli-Providis 1982, 37-40. Kritseli-Providis restores her as a sitting goddess having just received the necklace as an offering; Immerwahr 1990, 119, 191 (My No. 3).

⁵² 1972B, 35.

female figures were found within the Temple at Ayia Irini. All the figures are essentially alike and none stands out as a possible cult image. According to M. Caskey, the postures suggest that they are dancing. The most plausible interpretation of their function is then that they represent votaries celebrating a ritual.⁵³ Possibly, the focus-of-attention in the Mycenaean sanctuaries was not an image or a symbolic representation of the deity, but rather the perpetual enactment of a ritual represented by the clay statues and the cult equipment associated with them while the deity or deities worshipped would have been thought of as present in a non-material way.

On the other hand, the degree of differentiation evident in the clay human figures from the different cult buildings could indicate different deities. If the clay human figures are to be interpreted as representations of deities, it would seem that separate deities could be worshipped within the same cult building. With regard to the clay human figures from Phylakopi, Renfrew thinks that the "Lady of Phylakopi" may have served as a cult image as may the largest of the male figures, but he considers the case far from proven.⁵⁴ Taylour considered that the clay figures from Mycenae represented gods and goddesses and that they functioned as cult images.⁵⁵ The forbidding and aloof expression on the larger figures could be considered as having an apotropaic significance or as indicating a supernatural being. Kilian also believes that the figures found at Tiryns represent goddesses and suggests that the figures were carried around in ritual processions.⁵⁶ Supporting evidence for this theory can perhaps be seen in a fresco fragment from the South West House in the Cult centre at Mycenae, which shows a pair of female hands holding a diminutive female figure.⁵⁷ A fresco fragment belonging to a procession of life-size women found at Tiryns possibly depicts a terracotta figure held by one of the women.⁵⁸ Since only a very small part of the object held by the woman is preserved, the restoration cannot be considered completely certain. Albers argues, on the basis of the fresco fragments from Mycenae and Tiryns as well as the impression of what seems to be a wooden stick

⁵³ M. Caskey 1981, 133; 1986, 35-43.

⁵⁴ 1985, 364.

⁵⁵ 1969, 92; 1970, 278.

⁵⁶ 1981B, 54-56; 1988A, 148; 1992, 15.

⁵⁷ Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1996, 62, Pl. 93; Immerwahr 1990, 119 (My No.4). Immerwahr does not believe, however, that this figure represents a terracotta figure.

⁵⁸ Immerwahr 1990, 114, 120, fig. 3b.

on the inside of the figure found in the dump close to the area of the Cult Centre, that the clay figures are representations of deities which were carried on sticks in ritual processions. She does not believe, however, that they should be seen as true cult images and points out that there is no evidence that votive offerings were placed before the clay figures or that they were necessarily the focus of ritual activity.⁵⁹ The interpretation of Mycenaean clay figures as deities, but probably as dedications rather than cult images is also suggested by their occurrence in the open air sanctuary at Kynortion and by the figure found in Chamber Tomb 40 at Mycenae.

The difficulties in interpreting the cultic significance of the clay human figures found in the Mycenaean cult buildings signifies that no cult image can be securely identified. Although Mycenaean wall paintings apparently represented deities in human form, it is arguable that the Mycenaean did not have anthropomorphic or anthropomorphoid cult images. Furthermore, there is nothing in the cult buildings that can definitely be interpreted as a symbolic representation of the deity.

The panel of the fresco situated immediately above the platform in Room 31 of the Room with the Fresco Complex at Mycenae shows two female figures which have been identified as goddesses by N. Marinatos and by Rehak.⁶⁰ It could be suggested that their depiction is meant to symbolise the presence of the deity. Marinatos suggests that the position of the fresco within the room indicates that the figures are the recipients of offerings. The figures are not frontal, however, and are not shown in a position indicating the acceptance of worship, and the import of the scene is more likely to have been narrative.⁶¹

Ceramic snake models were found only in the Temple at Mycenae. Their precise significance is an open question. Snakes played an important role in Minoan cult and it is arguable that their presence in a Mycenaean cultic context is due to influence from Crete, even if the ritual associations were not the same.⁶² Ceramic vessels with painted or plastic snakes dating to the LH IIIC period have been found in tombs at Perati, Naxos, Ialysos, Kos⁶³ which could indicate that snakes in Mycenaean reli-

⁵⁹ 1994, 21, 136-137.

⁶⁰ 1988, 247-248; 1992, 47-50.

⁶¹ Cf. Hägg 1985B, 21.

⁶² Cf. N. Marinatos & Hägg 1981, 214. Similar coiled snakes have been found at Iouktas dating to the Middle Minoan period (Karetsou, lecture at the American School of Classical Studies in Athens 25/ii/92).

⁶³ Mee 1982, 39-40.

gion were associated with death and the underworld.⁶⁴ A fragment of one of the large clay figures from Amyklai consists of a hand holding a cup from which a snake is about to drink.⁶⁵ The same theme of snakes drinking from a bowl is also found plastically rendered on a vase found in Tomb 84 at Ialysos.⁶⁶ Similar vases come from other tombs at Ialysos. A jar found in the cemetery at Langada on Kos has a cup attached at the shoulder; two snakes are painted on the shoulder, their heads converging above the cup.⁶⁷ This suggests that the Mycenaeans regarded snakes as sacred animals which were kept and fed. It is possible that sacred snakes may have been kept in the cult buildings. The natural rock visible beyond the north/west corner of Room 18 and separated from it by ledge of stones could also be suggestive of chthonic cult.⁶⁸ In the later Greek period, evidence from several sanctuaries indicate that natural rock formations were thought to facilitate contact with the underworld.⁶⁹

No other types of animal figures were found at Mycenae, but large figures of bovids were found at Phylakopi, at Methana, and at Tiryns,⁷⁰ as well as at Ayia Irini.⁷¹ It has been suggested that large figures of wheel-made bulls were to be associated with outdoor altars where burnt offerings were made and that they were substitutes for animal sacrifices.⁷² This may have been the case at the open air altar at Kynortion near Epidauros, where in the LH IIIA/B period clay animal statues were found along with the bones of sacrificed animals.⁷³ It may also have been the case at Tiryns where clay animal figures were found in the vicinity of the altar in the courtyard. This interpretation of the bovid figures is not suggested by the findspots at Phylakopi and at Methana,⁷⁴ although it is possible that the figures are dedications representing sacrificial animals.

Moreover, cattle bones were not particularly predominant among the animal bones found at Tiryns, Methana, and Phylakopi, and it would

⁶⁴ In later Greek Religion snakes symbolised the underworld and the world of the dead (Burkert 1985, 30).

⁶⁵ Demakopoulou 1982, 55-56.

⁶⁶ Benzi 1992, 392, Pl. 108, 109.

⁶⁷ Morriconi 1965-1966, 183-186.

⁶⁸ Taylour 1970, 274, 278. Taylour suggests a cultic connection between the natural rock and the clay snakes.

⁶⁹ Schachter 1992, 7.

⁷⁰ Renfrew 1985, 425-427; Kilian 1978, 465.

⁷¹ M. Caskey 1981, 132.

⁷² Nicholls 1970, 1-37; Peppa-Papaioannou 1985, 209.

⁷³ Kilian 1992, 14; Peppa-Papaioannou 1985.

⁷⁴ French in Renfrew 1985, 277; Konsolaki 1995, 242.

therefore seem unlikely that the bovid figures were associated with animal sacrifice.⁷⁵ Since the bovid figures were found together with group figures of chariots, horses with helmeted riders, and driven oxen, it seems more reasonable to conclude that they had some other significance. Horses with helmeted riders are unique to the cult building at Methana, while chariot models and driven oxen occurred both at Methana and at Phylakopi. Perhaps they represented the material wealth and social status of the dedicants.⁷⁶ The afore-mentioned krater from Kalavassos on Cyprus perhaps indicates that chariots occurred in religious processions.⁷⁷ Konsolaki has suggested that the figures of bulls and horses at Methana may indicate a connection with Poseidon. The cult of Poseidon was prominent in the Troizen in the historical period and considering the importance of Poseidon in the Linear B tablets it cannot be excluded that this cult had prehistoric roots in the area.⁷⁸ The location of the cult building at Methana on the hill of Ayios Konstantinos overlooking the Saronic Gulf would be consonant with a cult of Poseidon since in the later Greek period, major sanctuaries of Poseidon were located so as to control the right of way, either by land or by sea.⁷⁹ If figures of bulls, horses, and chariot models are to be connected with Poseidon, it would seem that Poseidon would have been widely worshipped in the Mycenaean period, although not necessarily as the sole deity within a sanctuary. All in all, since the types of clay figures are unevenly distributed within the Mycenaean cult buildings, it would seem reasonable that they are to be related to the worship of separate deities rather than to the social position of the worshippers.

The function of the Mycenaean cult buildings can then be seen to be fairly complex since they were used for organised ritual activity, for the deposition of votive offerings, and perhaps as places of display for the enactment of perpetual ritual. Considering the location of these sanctuaries close to fortification walls, their proximity to defence walls has been

⁷⁵ Cf. Morgan (1994, 120) who argues that it is unlikely that bovid figurines found in early Iron Age contexts represent sacrificial animals, since there is little correlation between the animal bone and figurine evidence.

⁷⁶ It has been suggested that chariots functioned as status symbols of the Mycenaean elite (Immerwahr 1990, 124).

⁷⁷ Steel 1994, 211.

⁷⁸ Cf. Konsolaki 1996, 72, fnnt. 15. A connection with Poseidon has also been suggested for bull figures found in Early Iron Age sanctuaries (Morgan 1994, 119-120).

⁷⁹ Schachter 1992, 46.

remarked on by Rutkowski,⁸⁰ and Warren suggests that a major function of the deities worshipped may have been protection of the city.⁸¹ A connection with a war goddess can be suggested for Tsountas' House Shrine and the Room with the Fresco Complex as has been done by Rehak on the basis of the military iconography which is evident in these two sanctuaries (ie. the plaster plaque with the figure-of-eight shield, the fresco fragment with the figure wearing a boar's tusk helmet from Room Gamma; the female figure holding a sword in the upper panel of the fresco in Room 31).⁸² Since Mycenaean art and palatial architecture show a clear preoccupation with military concerns, it is not impossible that Mycenaean divinities also had a military colouring. However, it is also possible to suggest that military iconography in a religious context is more symbolic and that the deities worshipped had a general protective function against all types of evil rather than a specifically polemic one.

The Linear B tablets confirm the existence of cult buildings, as well as of a class of priests and priestesses, and the involvement of the palace administration in cult activity. How the cult buildings at Tiryns, Phylakopi, Methana, and Mycenae can be related to the information in the Linear B tablets is not clear. The particular richness of the votives found at Phylakopi has been remarked on by Renfrew. The objects found in the Temple and the Room with the Fresco Complex at Mycenae are also characterised by richness.⁸³ The nature and quality of the votive offerings found at Ayia Irini can be compared to those found at Phylakopi, Mycenae, and Tiryns.⁸⁴ As well, it could be significant that examples of these sanctuaries have been discovered at major centres. As previously discussed (cf. Chapter One), the construction of the sanctuary at Phylakopi is perhaps connected with the Megaron as an administrative centre. At Ayia Irini on Keos, there was almost certainly a close connection between the Temple and House A. It seems therefore probable that these cult buildings should be considered part of official cult. The Processional Way at Mycenae is also a strong indication of a close relationship between

⁸⁰ 1986, 185.

⁸¹ 1986, 156. See also Albers 1994, 120.

⁸² 1984.

⁸³ In the storeroom in the Temple was found a small bowl containing ivory artefacts and beads of semi-precious stones. From the Room with the Fresco Complex can be mentioned the ivory head and ivory lion from Room 31.

⁸⁴ Tiny scraps of gold leaf, two bronze blades, parts of several small terracotta figurines and a sealstone were found with LH IIIA/B pottery (Caskey 1966, 369).

palace or administrative centre and the cult centre.⁸⁵ Sacrifice and ritual meals which took place in the cult buildings are possibly to be associated with the religious functions of the ruler as the Linear B tablets indicate a connection between the *wanax* and ritual sacrificial banquets.⁸⁶ Another indication that these cult buildings represent official cult is the fresco decoration of the Room with the Fresco Complex and possibly of some of the other cult buildings (cf. Chapter One). Fresco decoration is particularly associated with palatial architecture.⁸⁷ Rehak has pointed to the occurrence of symbols associated with power and elite such as the sword and the staff in the fresco in Room 31.⁸⁸ It can probably be concluded that the worship of deities perhaps closely connected with war and defence strongly suggests that the Mycenaean sanctuaries were a part of official cult since war and defence must have been primarily concerns of the ruling power. According to Kilian, cultic assemblages which include large human and animal clay figures, chariot models, miniature furniture, miniature vessels, rhyta as well as figurines should be considered as characteristic of official cult.⁸⁹

It is, on the other hand open to question whether Mycenaean cult buildings were solely connected with palatial cult. The cult building at Methana lay within a settlement and the material from Tsoungiza most likely originated from a building within the settlement. At Amyklai, the material was found in an isolated spot, but it does not seem unreasonable to connect it with a sanctuary serving a nearby settlement. Other isolated findspots of large clay human figures also strongly suggest that Mycenaean cult buildings were not always associated with palatial centres, even if a connection with upper level cult seems probable.⁹⁰ Moreover, the succession of the cult buildings at Tiryns dating to LH IIIC show that the cult activity associated with Mycenaean cult buildings was not indissolubly associated with the ruling power, but continued beyond the destruction of the Mycenaean citadels. At Phylakopi, the cult continues into the LH IIIC period; unfortunately, there is no evidence for when the Megaron goes out of use.

⁸⁵ Mylonas 1982, 315.

⁸⁶ Killen 1996; Hägg 1995, 390, Palaima 1995, 132.

⁸⁷ Immerwahr 1990, 147. Cf. Hägg 1995, 389.

⁸⁸ 1992, 58.

⁸⁹ 1992, 14.

⁹⁰ Cf. Hägg 1995, 391 (discussion).

Although in the case of Crete, the evidence for theocratic rule seems quite compelling, the evidence for the Mainland seems far less clear and it is open to question whether the Mycenaean ruler was regarded as divine and one can talk of sacral kingship. On the other hand, it can hardly be doubted that Mycenaean rule must have been ultimately underpinned by divine sanction, and there is no reason to doubt that the ruler had important sacral functions. The religious use of the palatial *megara* clearly indicates the significance of the ruler in ritual activity.⁹¹ It is possible that the ruler represented the highest religious authority, as would seem to be indicated by the Linear B tablets which provide some information on the religious functions of the Mycenaean ruler or the *wanax*.⁹² Generally speaking, all power tends to be sacralised.⁹³ It is, however, only when the connection between ritual activity and power is made explicit in that religion becomes, or is believed to be, the primary basis for political power, and the legitimacy of the ruler or ruling elite is directly based on divine status or special association with the divine that one can speak of a theocracy or of sacral kingship in the strict sense.⁹⁴ Whether religious underpinning played a major part in the legitimisation or exercise of Mycenaean political power, whether there was deliberate political manipulation of religious symbolism or ritual, or whether the status of the ruler in relation to the divine was particularly emphasised in Mycenaean ruler ideology are questions which are difficult to answer in the present state of the evidence.

The evidence does however indicate that there was a close connection between political power and the visible expression of force or military power which could suggest that the warriorlike qualities of the ruler rather than his religious associations were more important for political legitimisation, and that the ruler's authority was based on his power to provide protection and security for his kingdom.⁹⁵ Although the wall paintings in the *megaron* of the palace at Pylos show religious themes, clearly reflecting the religious significance of the *megaron*, the fresco fragments found in the *megaron* at Mycenae show that the walls of the

⁹¹ Hägg 1995, 389; J. Wright 1994, 51; Palaima 1994, 132; Kilian 1988C, 293; 1992, 19.

⁹² Hägg 1995, 390. Palaima 1995, 131-134; Kilian 1988C, 293-294.

⁹³ Kertzer 1988, 37-38.

⁹⁴ Webster 1976, 815.

⁹⁵ The textual evidence for a connection between the *wanax* and military matters is, however, minimal (Palaima 1995, 130; Stavrianopoulou 1995, 425).

megaron were decorated with scenes of battle.⁹⁶ The massive fortifications of Mycenaean citadels may have been intended as much for impressing the local population, expressing the strength and power of their rulers, as for protection against external enemies and can be seen as a symbol of authority.⁹⁷ In the Pandayan kingdom of South India in the fifth and sixth centuries AD the king had sacral functions, but his rule was primarily legitimated through his descent from brave and generous ancestors, his own valour, and his own generosity.⁹⁸ A similar model could be proposed for the Mycenaean kingdoms. The prominence given to Grave Circle A indicates that ancestors were important as a basis for legitimacy.⁹⁹ The inclusion of Grave Circle A within the citadel wall at Mycenae could indicate that there was a conceptual link between defence and ancestors and could very well suggest that emphasis might have been placed on descent from valiant and strong ancestors. The ritual banquets which were connected with the *wanax* were clearly expressive of the ruler's sacral function, but they may also have had significance as expressions of the generosity of the ruler which could have played a part in legitimating his rule.¹⁰⁰

Conversely, Stavrianopoulou maintains that the Mycenaean kingship had an essential religious character and drawing on the evidence of the Linear B tablets she argues that the *wanax* was honoured by festivals and received offerings in the context of an official cult.¹⁰¹ Palaima has argued that the authority of the Mycenaean ruler was derived from his religious associations and that in fact the idea of Mycenaean rulership was taken over from the Minoans.¹⁰² That the Mycenaean ruler was either considered divine or as an intermediary between the gods and the rest of the population may be indicated by the wall-paintings of the megaron unit of the Palace at Pylos where griffins on either side of the throne possibly allude to the divinely exalted position of the ruler.¹⁰³ The location of the cult buildings close to fortification walls at major palatial

⁹⁶ Immerwahr 1990, 123-125.

⁹⁷ Trigger 1990, 121-122; J. Wright 1994, 51.

⁹⁸ Reynolds 1987, 16-17.

⁹⁹ Cf. J. Wright 1994, 59.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Palaima 1995, 132; Evidence from the Linear B tablets from Pylos and the nodules from Thebes indicate that the quantities of meat provided for religious festivals would have been enough to feed over a thousand people (Piteros et al. 1990, 179-184; Killen 1992; see also Hägg 1995, 388).

¹⁰¹ 1995, 427-430.

¹⁰² 1995, 127, 129-134.

¹⁰³ Kilian 1988C, 294.

centres (Mycenae, Tiryns, Midea, ?Phylakopi) may indicate that the strength and power of the rulers had a religious dimension which was actively propagated, and the significance of Grave Circle A may also have been that the ruler laid claim to supernatural powers through descent from divine ancestors.

Later Greek Civilisation has been called a "temple culture".¹⁰⁴ Yet, temples were, if not inessential to Greek cult, at least not of crucial importance since ritual activity was centred around the altar outside the temple building and not on the temple building itself. Greek temples were considered to be the house of the particular deity to whom it might be dedicated. However, they developed a distinct architectural form and were characterised by monumentality both in their architecture and in their setting, and they came to acquire a secondary function, essentially unconnected with their religious function, symbolising the power and prestige of the state, and were, therefore, of great significance to Greek culture as a whole.¹⁰⁵

In contrast, Mycenaean cult buildings did not acquire a distinct architectural form and there are no tendencies towards monumentality. The religious structures of the Mycenaeans were not used by the ruling power to make any kind of secondary statement; seemingly, the Mycenaean elite expressed its power and status through palatial and funerary architecture and not through religious architecture, although it seems they did so through the organisation of elaborate religious festivals. While monumental architecture in itself testifies to a high level of religious organisation by the elite, the fact that the Mycenaeans did not have monumental religious structures does not necessarily mean that there was no religious organisation on a large-scale. It does seem possible to suggest that whatever ritual activity was connected with these sanctuaries only played a peripheral role within Mycenaean religion and that the cult buildings were not the main centres for ritual activity. It seems likely that Mycenaean ritual was mainly concerned with processions and open air sacrifice.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ Burkert 1988, 27.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Chadwick 1985, 192; Burkert, 1996, 149. E.g. the buildings on the Acropolis at Athens were built to honour Athena, but also to demonstrate the power and prestige of the city-state of Athens and to impress the Athenian allies with the might of Athens under the protection of her patron goddess.

¹⁰⁶ The importance of processions can be deduced from the iconographical material. In addition to the sanctuary at Kynortion which dates back to the Middle Helladic period, the altar with animal bones dating to the Middle Helladic period found on Nisakouli Methanas (Choremis 1969) indicates that animal sacrifice at open air sanctuaries was part of the Mycenaean religious tradition.

CONCLUSION

A large part of the discussion in this study has been concerned with the transmission of architectural and religious influences in the eastern Mediterranean in the Late Bronze Age. The necessity of distinguishing between Mycenaean and Minoan religious beliefs and practices would seem validated by the evidence of Mycenaean sacred architecture. In spite of close cultural contacts, a comparative analysis of Mycenaean and Minoan sacred architecture in the Late Bronze Age clearly indicates the existence of separate religious traditions. Although, Crete was almost certainly dominated by the Mycenaeans in the Late Minoan III period, it would seem that the development of Minoan religion in that period can be attributed to the fall of the palatial elite rather than to the establishment of Mycenaean rule on Crete. On the other hand, it seems probable that Mycenaean religion as it was practised on Crete was influenced to some extent by Minoan cult.

Although, certainly there are similarities between Mycenaean and Palestinian cult buildings, and a comparison of the relevant material cannot show decisively that there was not any influence from the Levant on Mycenaean sacred architecture, other factors have suggested that this was not the case. The similarities involved are quite general, the contacts between the two areas were probably not of such a nature that architectural and religious influence would be likely, and Mycenaean architecture in general can be seen to be conservative in character and not open to outside influences.

Burdajewicz and Demas have pointed out that in order to make a case for architectural influence between two cultures, it is not enough to argue from architectural similarities alone. I agree that it is also necessary to show how the process of transmission of influences could have taken place. I disagree with Burdajewicz's statement, however, that one can speak of a typological relationship between the sacred architecture of two cultures or areas only if one can also show that there is an ethnic and con-

comitant religious affinity. Geographical proximity, close cultural contacts, political domination, as well as ethnic or religious affinities are factors which can satisfactorily explain why one culture might be influenced by another in its architecture. Concerning the transmission of architectural influences from Palestine on Mycenaean sacred architecture, none of these conditions can be seen to apply. I have attempted to show that the Mycenaean cult buildings were not influenced in any way by foreign models but can be placed within a clear Mycenaean architectural tradition within which the much earlier Temple at Ayia Irini on Keos also belongs. Mycenaean religious architecture developed from local architectural traditions.

Although it may be possible to reconstruct the pattern of cult activity from the archaeological record in some detail, religious beliefs are only imprecisely and partially reflected by cult practices. The remains of sanctuaries, cult objects, ritual equipment, can provide important insights, but without textual evidence, detailed knowledge of the system of beliefs of a past culture is unobtainable. For instance, although it is certainly possible to conclude from the archaeological remains that animal sacrifice played an important part in the ritual activity of the Mycenaeans, it is difficult to make any more than general statements about the meaning of sacrifice such as to say that one can communicate with the supernatural through the medium of sacrifice and perhaps by sharing in a common meal. Likewise, one can say that the hearth almost certainly functioned as a point of contact with the supernatural, but not very much about the nature of the supernatural. Although the Linear B tablets have provided disappointingly little evidence concerning Mycenaean religious beliefs, it is worth noting that without the evidence of the Linear B tablets, we could not have been absolutely certain about the polytheistic nature of Mycenaean religion.¹ The limitations inherent in any reconstruction of prehistoric belief systems has been commented on by Trigger who contrasts studies of societies with the help of texts with speculative attempts to recover symbolic meaning in prehistoric societies.²

The system of beliefs, however, constitutes the essence of religion, and it is therefore of importance to attempt to gain some perception of

¹ Brelich 1967, 924-925; Hägg 1996, 600. As noted by Brelich and as has been discussed in Chapter Two, no such certainty is possible with regard to Minoan religion.

² 1991, 70.

them through the analysis of the material remains of cult.³ A contextual approach which looks at the similarities and differences in the information from settlement, burial, and ritual contexts in order to identify common structural schemes should also make further conclusions possible.⁴

In the comparison between domestic and sacred architecture in this work, I have looked mainly at the similarities, as a primary aim was to demonstrate that the Mycenaean cult buildings should be analysed within a Mycenaean cultural sphere. The recognition of the connection between domestic and sacred architecture has, however, made it possible to arrive at some conclusions concerning the function of Mycenaean cult buildings and how Mycenaean religious beliefs are reflected.

³ Cf. Hägg 1996, 600.

⁴ Hodder 1992, 32.

CATALOGUE OF MYCENAEAN CULT BUILDINGS IN THE LATE BRONZE AGE

1. ASINE

THE SANCTUARY IN ROOM XXXII, HOUSE G Fig. 1.

Location and history of use. House G is situated in the lower city below the acropolis at Asine. House G lay close to other houses and to the south it faced onto a street.¹ House G is dated to the LH IIIC period.²

Dimensions.³ 7.1 x 4.0 m.

Orientation of the entrance. 0° (180°) east of north.

Architecture. The building consisted of a complex of several rooms which has not been completely excavated; it extended further to the north and probably also to the west.⁴ Room XXXII has been identified as having a cultic function. It is a rectangular room with a stone platform against the eastern part of north wall. The platform did not extend all the way to the east wall and in the small area between the platform and the wall a jar was found standing upside down. The bottom of the jug had been carefully cut away.⁵ In addition, there were platforms along the east and west walls. Two column bases on the main axis of the room are preserved. The excavators could not ascertain where the entrance into Room XXXII had been but it was suggested that it may have been in the middle of the north wall; there was no indication of a doorway in the south wall, but it could not definitely be excluded.⁶ Since the western wall of Room XXXII continues to the south, it seems probable that there was another room between Room XXXII and the street.

¹ Frödin & Persson 1938, 89.

² House G was originally dated to LH IIIB by Frödin and Persson (1938, 89), but has later been assigned to a late stage of LH IIIC. See D'Agata 1996, 42, fnnt 16 for relevant references.

³ The dimensions are in all cases inner dimensions and are based, as is the orientation, on published plans in those cases where not recorded in the publication of the site.

⁴ Frödin & Persson 1938, 75.

⁵ Hägg 1981B, 93; 1996, 610.

⁶ Frödin & Persson 1938, 75-76; Hägg 1981, 91.

Objects found. The finds from Room XXXII consist of a small amount of pottery, including a triple-vase, a stone axe, three complete and two fragmentary clay figurines, a head from a large clay human figure, the "Lord of Asine".⁷ These objects were found buried in the floor to the west of the stone platform in a fill of charcoal and ashes.⁸ No other finds from the room have been reported.

2. METHANA.⁹

Location and history of use. The cult building at Methana was located on the hill of Ayios Konstantinos on the east coast of Methana. The building lies within a settlement and may have been built as early as LH IIIA1. It was destroyed at the end of LH IIIB.¹⁰

Dimensions. Main room: 4.35 x 2.65 m.¹¹

Architecture. The building had four rooms A, B, Γ, Δ lying in a row from north to south.¹² At least one of the rooms of the building, Room A, had a cultic function. Room A was oriented east/west and had an off-axis entrance in the north part of the east wall. Against the west wall, directly opposite the entrance, there was a small square stone platform which had three low steps on its east side.¹³ A low stone platform ran along the south wall of the room and in the central part of the room there was a low platform constructed of stone slabs. In the south/east corner there was a hearth.¹⁴ Rooms B and G lay to the north of Room A. Within Room B there was a hearth in the north/west corner with which fragments of tripod cooking pots and other household pottery were found associated.¹⁵ Within Room G a small cist grave containing the skeleton of a small child and grave goods had been constructed in the LH IIIB1 period, while the building was still in use.¹⁶ There was no evidence of cult activity within Room D which lay to the south of Room A. A

⁷ Frödin & Persson 1938, 298-300; 308-310.

⁸ Hägg 1981B, 93; personal communication.

⁹ No plan has as yet been published.

¹⁰ Konsolaki 1995; 1996, 71.

¹¹ Konsolaki 1995; 1996, 72.

¹² Konsolaki 1996, 72.

¹³ Konsolaki 1996, 72.

¹⁴ Konsolaki 1995.

¹⁵ Konsolaki 1996, 73.

¹⁶ Konsolaki 1996, 73

number of stone tools were found and the room may have been a work area connected with the sanctuary.¹⁷

Objects found. The finds from Room A consist of pottery, including eight kylikes found associated with the stepped platform, fragments of a small rhyton, and an animal-headed rhyton found near the south/west corner.¹⁸ A large number of clay figurines, mainly bovids, but also chariot groups and horses with helmeted riders, were found on and near the stepped platform.¹⁹ A female clay figurine of the hollow Psi type was found in the same assemblage.²⁰ A triton shell was also found within the room.²¹ Fragments of tripod cooking pots and other cooking ware were found near the hearth.²²

3. MYCENAE. Fig. 2.

Location and history of use. The Cult Centre at Mycenae²³ is situated on the western slope of the acropolis within the citadel walls to the south of the palace and consists of four separate buildings (Tsountas' House Shrine, the Megaron, the Temple, the Room with the Fresco Complex) located on different levels owing to the irregular terrain.²⁴ There are as well two courtyards or open areas, one connected with Tsountas' House Shrine and one lying to the south of the Temple and the Room with the Fresco Complex. Within this courtyard there was a round platform which could be identified as an altar on account of the animal bones and traces of fire found in connection with it.²⁵ There is no apparent immediate access between the various structures of the Cult Centre and each sanctuary seems to have formed an independent unit. The construction

¹⁷ Konsolaki 1996, 73.

¹⁸ Konsolaki 1996, 72-73.

¹⁹ Konsolaki 1996, 72.

²⁰ Konsolaki 1995; 1996, 72..

²¹ Konsolaki 1995.

²² Konsolaki 1996, 73.

²³ The Cult Centre consists of Tsountas House Shrine, and the area to the north of Tsountas' House and south of the South House and its Annex. This area was called the Citadel House by Wace (1955, 177) and Wace's Building by Mylonas. The term Citadel House Area has been retained in the publication of the Cult Centre of Mycenae by the British in order to identify the excavations carried out in the course of seven seasons between 1954 and 1969 (Taylour 1981, 2-3). The names used here for the individual structures are also those used in the publication of the Cult Centre (The Well Built Mycenae series). The history of the excavations in this area is very complex. The published information on the structures of the Cult Centre has been carefully collected and discussed by Albers (1994, 13-52).

²⁴ French 1981, 44.

²⁵ Mylonas 1973, 102; 1972A, 122; 1982, 316.

of the Cult Centre at Mycenae can be dated to the LH IIIB period; the Temple, the Room with the Fresco, the Megaron, and possibly Tsountas' House Shrine belong to the same phase of construction.²⁶ The Cult Centre went out of use after a major destruction by fire in a late phase of LH IIIB. However, before the final abandonment of the Cult Centre, several of the structures had been deliberately put out of use, possibly after having been damaged by earthquake or a minor fire.²⁷ Above the Cult Centre, to the east ran a monumental roadway or Processional Way as it is termed by Mylonas. It consists of Tsountas' Corridor which approaches the area from the south. Tsountas' Corridor links up with Wace's Gallery which approached the area from the direction of the Lion Gate. The Processional Way could be reached from the other parts of the citadel by means of paths and stairs. From the south end of Tsountas' Corridor a path led upwards towards the palace. The Processional Way could be closed off by double doors at either end so that access to the Cult Centre could be controlled.²⁸ An alternative route led from the Lion Gate and Grave Circle A along the West Cyclopean wall, past the South House.²⁹

A. TSOUNTAS' HOUSE SHRINE

Dimensions. Room Gamma: 4.9 x 3.2 m; Room Gamma 1: 6.45 x 4.5 m.

Orientation of the entrance. 302° east of north.

Architecture. Tsountas' House Shrine³⁰ is located at the end of the Processional Way which led down from the Palace to the Cult Area.³¹ In front of the entrance to Tsountas' House Shrine the Processional Way widens out forming an open area to the north of the building. Tsountas' House Shrine had several architectural phases. In the first phase, it consisted of a single room (Room Gamma) with an axial entrance to the north.³² In its second phase, another room was added to the north (Room

²⁶ Taylour 1981, 9.

²⁷ French 1981, 47; Mylonas 1972, 123; Taylour 1981, 9.

²⁸ Mylonas 1977, 73.

²⁹ Mylonas 1975, 153-155.

³⁰ Termed Building Gamma by Tsountas, whose designation is retained by Mylonas who calls the room to the south Room Gamma and the the two phases of the room to the north Gamma 1 and 2 (except in his 1977 publication where he refers to Gamma as Gamma 1 and Gamma 1 as Gamma 2). Tsountas' House Shrine was first excavated in 1886 by Tsountas who cleared Room Gamma and the floor of Gamma 2. Gamma 1 was excavated by Wace in 1950, and the area was again cleared by Mylonas in 1971-1972. Mylonas' 1972 report in *Praktika* is the most extensive and comprehensive account of the building.

³¹ Mylonas 1971, 156.

³² Mylonas 1972A, 118.

Gamma 1) in such a way that Room Gamma was enclosed by the walls of Room Gamma 1.³³ A door in its south wall communicated with Room Gamma which remained in use. The north side of Room Gamma 1 which faced onto the open area at the end of the Processional Way was completely open.³⁴ Two steps led down into Room Gamma 1 which was at a lower level.³⁵ Within this room there was a horseshoe-shaped platform with, on its southwestern side, a circular projection the surface of which has a circular hole. There was a second projection on the same side, so that a groove eight cm wide was formed between the two projections. The groove was terminated by the mouth of a two-handled jar embedded in the floor.³⁶ In front of this platform, to the north and slightly off axis, there was a large boulder embedded in the earth.³⁷ There were platforms along the south and east walls.³⁸ In the latest phase of the sanctuary, the floor level was raised thirty-seven centimetres so that in the second phase of this room (Gamma 2) the horseshoe-shaped platform and platforms along the walls were completely covered over. The door openings in the north wall of Room Gamma and the south wall of Room Gamma 1 were raised and new thresholds provided. In the open area outside the building, to the east of the entrance, a rectangular platform was constructed.³⁹

Objects found. Within Room Gamma were found an ivory wing, a scarab,⁴⁰ ornaments of bone, gold, gold foil, glass paste including a dark blue glass pendant of Mesopotamian origin,⁴¹ a fragment of a nude female plaque of Mesopotamian origin,⁴² three female figurines of glass paste, as well as a small stucco plaque painted in miniature style. This plaque depicts a human figure, mostly concealed behind a figure-of-eight shield, holding a sword in its right arm with a female worshipper on

³³ Mylonas 1972A, 118.

³⁴ Mylonas 1972A, 118; 1972B, 19.

³⁵ Mylonas 1982, 312; 1972A, 121.

³⁶ Wace 1951, 254.

³⁷ Mylonas 1972A, 120; 1981, 313. According to Wace (1951, 255; repeated in French 1981, 44) the boulder belongs to the room's second phase, Room Gamma 2.

³⁸ Wace 1951, 254; Mylonas 1972A, 120; French 1981, 44. The connection between the bench along the south wall and the doorway between Room Gamma 1 and Room Gamma is difficult to understand from published accounts. See Albers 1994, 23, fnnt 161 for an extended discussion.

³⁹ Mylonas 1971, 154-155; 1972, 121; 1981, 314.

⁴⁰ Cline 1994, 146, no. 120; 1995B, 99, no. 18.

⁴¹ Cline 1994, 140, no. 69; 1995B, 98, no. 11.

⁴² Cline 1994, 144, no. 100; 1995B, 100, no. 27.

either side. An altar with incurving sides is preserved between one of the worshippers and the figure with the shield.⁴³ A female plaster head (so-called sphinx) may also have come from Room Gamma.⁴⁴

Finds from Room Gamma 1 consist of a small amount of pottery, including three miniature vases and a shallow dish found near the platform.⁴⁵ No finds have been reported from Room Gamma 2.

B. MEGARON

Dimensions. Room 2: 10.5 x 5.0 m; Anteroom: 3.0 x 5.0 m.

Orientation of the entrance. 75° east of north.

Architecture. The Megaron⁴⁶ was entered at its south/eastern end directly from the Processional Way.⁴⁷ It is situated directly to the east of the Temple and has the same orientation but is located on a higher level. The Megaron consists of a large room (Room 2) with an anteroom. There is a rectangular platform in the centre of the room. The entrance into the anteroom from the Processional Way is bent-axis while the entrance into the main sanctuary room from the anteroom is off-axis. The northern part of the building is supported by an artificial terrace, but below the anteroom there were three basement rooms (Rooms I, II, III).

Objects found. Only pottery was recovered from Room 2 and the anteroom.⁴⁸

Finds from the basement rooms include large amounts of pottery, glass beads, worked ivory, an elephant's tusk, boar's tusks, a hippopotamus tooth, a small, possibly Neolithic, figurine, a fragment of a stone mortar, a fossil cup, a probable fragment of an ostrich egg rhyton.⁴⁹

C. TEMPLE

Dimensions. Room 18: 5.1 x 4.2 m; Room XI: 3.0 x 4.5 m; Room 19: 2.0 x 2.0 m.

Orientation of the entrance. 163° east of north.

⁴³ Tsountas 1886, 78-79; 1887, 162-163, 169-172, Pls. X; XIII; Wace 1951, 254.

⁴⁴ Mylonas 1972A, 92; 1982, 311.

⁴⁵ Wace 1951, 254; Mylonas 1972, 120.

⁴⁶ This structure is called Building X by Mylonas (1982, 310).

⁴⁷ French 1981, 44.

⁴⁸ French 1981, 44.

⁴⁹ Wace 1963; Taylour & Papadimitriou, 1963, 83; Taylour 1981, 19, 33; Evely 1992, 3; Cline 1995B, 105, no. 94.

Orientation of the cult focus. 342° east of north.

Architecture. The Temple was reached from the Processional Way by a staircase just to the south of the entrance to the Megaron and a sloping passage which led to the court of Tsountas' House; from there the Temple could be reached by means of a ramp.⁵⁰ The Temple is oriented approximately north/south. It lies at a lower level than the Megaron and its eastern wall is built against the western terrace wall of the Megaron. The main room, Room 18, is entered from the south through an anteroom (Room XI) which opens on to the courtyard. The entrance both from the outside and from the anteroom to Room 18 is on-axis. There was a second entrance to the anteroom from a room lying to the south of the Temple by means of which Tsountas' House and Tsountas' House Shrine could be reached.⁵¹ Within the anteroom there was an alcove in the southwest corner. A possible column-base was located in the eastern part of the room.⁵² To the north of Room 18 is a small room (Room 19). This room lies at a higher level (ca. 2.0-2.5 m) than Room 18 and is reached by a staircase situated along the east wall of Room 18. Within Room 18 there is a series of platforms of different sizes and varying heights along the entire northern wall and in the north/west corner.⁵³ Room 19 does not extend the entire width of Room 18, and beyond the platforms in the north/west corner of Room 18 and to the west of Room 19 there is a small triangular-shaped room; it is separated from Room 18 by a row of stones. This room was created by a wall extending from the north corner of the west wall of the Temple to one of the basement walls of an older building to the north.⁵⁴ Within this area part of the natural rock had been left visible. In the centre of Room 18 there is a low rectangular platform. Aligned with the staircase there is a row of three posts, the northernmost of which is located at the junction of the platforms and the staircase.⁵⁵ Room 19 had been boarded up before the final destruction. The altar in the courtyard also goes out of use at the same time as Room 19.

⁵⁰ Taylour 1981, 19; Mylonas 1972, 121-122.

⁵¹ Taylour 1981, 51.

⁵² Taylour 1981, 51.

⁵³ Taylour 1969, 94; 1970, 274.

⁵⁴ Taylour 1970, 271, 274.

⁵⁵ Taylour 1970, 273.

Objects found. Within Room 18 was found a human clay figure facing west with a portable tripod clay offering table in front of it in situ on the highest level of the platform close to the staircase.⁵⁶

In Room 19 were found pottery including kylikes, small bowls, cups, mostly plain and of poor quality, clay human figures, some of which were broken (in all nineteen),⁵⁷ two complete clay snakes and fragments of at least four others, three portable tripod clay tables of offering. Inside a small clay bowl were found a small ivory figurine, an ivory comb, a scarab, a shell, a large number of beads, mainly glass but also lapis lazuli, a lamp, two braziers.⁵⁸ In the triangular-shaped room were found pottery, fragments of clay human figures and clay snakes, some of which join with those from Room 19.⁵⁹

The finds from Room XI consist of a small amount of pottery.⁶⁰

D. ROOM WITH THE FRESCO COMPLEX

Dimensions. Room 31: 5.3 x 3.5 m; Room 33: 3.6 x 3.2 m; Room 32: 2.8 x 1.0 m.

Orientation of the entrance. 244° east of north.

Orientation of the cult focus. 64° east of north.

Architecture. The Room with the Fresco Complex lies to the west of the Temple and delineates the north side of the open area to the south of the Temple. It is oriented roughly east/west and lies at a right angle to the main axis of the Temple, separated from it by a narrow passageway. The entrance into the Room with the Fresco Complex from the outside is to the north, that is from the side which does not face onto the court and there is no direct communication between the Room with the Fresco Complex and the Temple or the open area. The entrance leads into an anteroom (Room 38) from which a bent-axis entrance leads into Room 31. Within Room 31 there was a platform against the east wall, to the south of the doorway, but which did not extend as far as the south wall.⁶¹ Against the wall on the north side of the platform, there was a low step with rounded corners. At the west edge of the upper surface of the plat-

⁵⁶ Tylour 1970, 274.

⁵⁷ Tylour 1969, 92; 1971, 266; French 1981, 45.

⁵⁸ Tylour 1969, 92-93; French 1981, 45; Cline 1994, 146, no. 119; 1995B, 98, no. 17.

⁵⁹ Tylour 1970, 271.

⁶⁰ Tylour 1970, 274; Mylonas 1973, 100.

⁶¹ Tylour 1981, 49.

form, there were three raised discs of clay. To the east of these there was a socket, possibly for a post.⁶² The north face of the platform was decorated with a fresco. The lower part of the fresco is not preserved. The upper portion shows a row of solid circles painted alternatively red and black, above which are horns of consecration. There are no traces of fresco remaining on the other sides of the platform. The east wall behind the platform was entirely covered with a fresco. The fresco is not completely preserved and consists of a lower register on the same level as the platform, between it and the doorway, and an upper register above the platform.⁶³ The lower register depicts a female figure wearing an elaborate headdress and holding sheaves of corn in both hands. To her right are preserved the paws of an animal and to her left the tail. She is facing towards the platform and there is a column behind her back. The upper register can be divided into two panels. The panel above the lower register has not been preserved apart from part of a border of rosettes. The panel immediately above the platform shows two female figures facing each other. They are standing on a floor consisting of regular blocks. The woman on the left is somewhat larger. Immediately in front of her there is a large sword with the point touching the ground which she is probably holding. The other woman seems to be holding a staff. Between the two women and the sword two very much smaller and more sketchily rendered figures hover. The scene is framed by columns. The upper part of this panel is not preserved, but the columns and the floor indicate that the scene is taking place indoors.

In the centre of the room, there is a low elliptical platform with circular depressions at either end.⁶⁴ The doorway in the east wall of Room 31 leads into a small room with a platform in the south/west corner (Room 32). Two vats of unbaked clay were located in the northern part of this room.⁶⁵ This room was not part of the original plan but was added shortly afterwards along with Room xxiv to the south of it, so that originally the passageway between the Temple and the Room with the Fresco Complex had been much wider. Before the construction of Room 32 there was then an entrance which led directly into Room 31 from the east, by which the Room with the Fresco Complex could easily be reached

⁶² Taylour 1969, 94-95.

⁶³ Taylour 1969, 96-97; 1970, 276; N. Marinatos 1988, 245-248.

⁶⁴ Taylour 1981, 52.

⁶⁵ Taylour et. al. 1981, 52.

from the Temple. Since the passageway as well as the floor of Room 32 lay at a higher level than the floor of Room 31, it seems likely that steps led up from Room 31.⁶⁶ At the west end of the building there was a large room (Room 33), communicating only with Room 31. Within this room was found the neck of an amphora, embedded in the floor.⁶⁷ Before the final catastrophe, the walls of Room 31 were whitewashed so that the fresco was covered over; possibly at that time, the room was no longer used for cult purposes. The building also contained three other rooms (xxiv, xxviii, xxv). They did not communicate directly with Room 31, but opened onto the courtyard to the south.⁶⁸ They are possibly to be regarded as a separate cult structure not connected with the Room with the Fresco Complex. The neck of an amphora was found embedded in the floor of Room xxv.⁶⁹

Objects found. The finds from Room 31 consist of much pottery, both coarse and fine painted including a tripod cooking pot, a clay larnax found in situ against the north wall next to the doorway, several lead vessels, an Egyptian faience plaque with a cartouche of Amenophis III, a stone bird's nest bowl, an ivory male head, an ivory lion, a stone mace-head.⁷⁰

Room 33 contained an ivory figurine.⁷¹

The finds from Room 32 consist of a large amount of pottery, a clay human figure, beads, lead vessel, stone spindle whorls, a large amount of ivory, worked, partly worked, and unworked.⁷²

A large amount of pottery and a stone tripod vase was found in Room xxv.⁷³

Within Room xxiv were found pottery and two sealstones.⁷⁴

No finds have been reported from Room xxviii.

⁶⁶ See Albers 1994, 39, for a discussion on the problem of communication between Room 31 and Room 32.

⁶⁷ Mylonas 1973, 100; 1981, 317.

⁶⁸ Mylonas 1973, 101.

⁶⁹ Mylonas 1977, 24.

⁷⁰ Taylour 1969, 95-96; 1970, 275; Cline 1994, 143, no. 97; 1995B, 100, no. 25.

⁷¹ Mylonas 1973, 100; 1981, 317.

⁷² Taylour 1968, 94; 1970, 277; Taylour 1981, 52; French 1981, 45.

⁷³ Mylonas 1974, 90; 1973, 100.

⁷⁴ Mylonas 1972, 90.

4. PHYLAKOPI. Figs. 3, 4.

Location and history of use. The settlement at Phylakopi is located on the north coast of Melos. The sanctuary area is situated on the edge of the site and in close proximity to the fortification walls which ran to the south of the settlement. The construction and use of the Sanctuary at Phylakopi can be divided into several phases: construction of the West Shrine (LH IIIA2, LC III, Phylakopi IV according to Renfrew, Phylakopi IIIiii according to Barber);⁷⁵ building of the extension wall leading east from the West Shrine; construction of the East Shrine as well as of the fortification wall replacing the earlier LM I fortification wall (LH IIIB1). Early in the LH IIIC period, there was a collapse and the sanctuary was severely damaged as the result of earthquake or enemy action; there are no signs of fire.⁷⁶

After the collapse the sanctuary continued in use in a modified and reduced form until later in the LH IIIC period when it was finally abandoned. In its final form the sanctuary consisted of two adjoining sanctuary buildings, the West and East Shrines, opening on to a small enclosed courtyard. This courtyard is bounded by the sanctuary buildings on the west and north and by the fortification wall and the extension wall which connects the West Shrine to the fortification wall on the south and partially on the east; a street leads from the east into the courtyard. In the courtyard there was a platform running the length of the extension wall, to the north of which and in front of the entrance to the West Shrine a deliberately rounded stone had been set up. The purpose of the extension wall must have been to delimit the area of the West Shrine and the courtyard to the south since it antedates the LH III fortification wall. The LCI fortification wall ran several metres to the south.

A. WEST SHRINE

Dimensions. Main room: 6.0 x 5.8 m; Room A: 1.6 x 1.6 m; Room B: 3.8 x 1.6 m.

Orientation of the entrance. 98° east of north.

Orientation of the cult focus. 274° east of north.

Architecture. The West Shrine was apparently built in a single phase of construction.⁷⁷ The building is oriented approximately east/west and con-

⁷⁵ For the chronology of Melos in the Late Bronze Age see: Renfrew & Wagstaff 1982, 36; Barber 1981, 21; 1987, 20-34.

⁷⁶ Renfrew 1981, 67; 1985, 379.

⁷⁷ Renfrew 1985, 92.

sists of three rooms. The main entrance into the West Shrine is from the court to the east; it is approximately on-axis and leads directly into the main room.⁷⁸ Originally there was a second entrance situated in the south wall; this entrance was later blocked, probably at the time of the construction of the extension wall and was therefore only in use for a short time. Within the main sanctuary room are two platforms running the entire length of the west wall on either side of the doorway. In addition, there are platforms along the north and south walls; the platform along the south wall seems to belong to the original construction while the one along the north wall is a later addition.⁷⁹ The platform along the south wall is on two levels, the upper is the same height as the platform in the southwest corner. To the west of the central room are two intercommunicating rooms of unequal size situated next to each other (Rooms A and B);⁸⁰ a doorway situated in the centre of the west wall leads into Room B, the larger of these rooms. There was an open niche to the south of this doorway, communicating with Room A and there appears to have been a similar niche to the north of the doorway communicating with Room B.⁸¹ These niches were later carefully blocked, perhaps only partially, some time before the collapse. In Room A there was a platform along the west wall belonging to the original construction, while platforms along the north, east, southern part of the west wall of Room B are later additions. These platforms had been covered over by the rise in the floor level at the time of the building of the East Shrine.⁸² After the collapse in the LH IIIC period, a blocking wall running east/west was built across the West Shrine; the area to the south of this wall was filled in, while the area to the north continued in use and a new platform was constructed in the northeast corner of the room. Access to rooms A and B was also blocked by the wall and these rooms were no longer in use.⁸³

Objects found. The finds from the West Shrine can be divided into three groups: those from the early use of the sanctuary; those in use at the time of the collapse; those from the latest period of the use of the sanctuary

⁷⁸ Renfrew 1985, 93.

⁷⁹ Renfrew 1985, 94.

⁸⁰ Renfrew 1985, 94.

⁸¹ Renfrew 1985, 94.

⁸² Renfrew 1985, 96.

⁸³ Renfrew 1985, 105, 127.

after the collapse in LH IIIC. The most abundant material is that associated with the collapse. The pottery from the early use of the central room is limited to one bowl. Other finds consist of a large number of beads, a shell, two rods and two fragments of bronze, three stone dress weights, one clay spindle whorl, one lead ring bezel.⁸⁴

Within Room A were found a kylix, a fragment of a female clay figure, several beads, a bone point, two bronze fragments, fragments of two clay spindle whorls, a marble slab.⁸⁵

Finds from Room B consist of a small amount of pottery, both coarse and fine including a miniature bowl and a cooking pot, several beads, a seal-stone, an awl, an arrowhead and four fragments of bronze, a fragment of murex shell, tortoise shell fragments, a worked ivory object, a terracotta fragment, a pierced stone plaque, two querns and one fragment of a quern, a coarse stone vessel, two stone discs, two marble slabs.⁸⁶

Three assemblages in the West Shrine were associated with the LH IIIC destruction. Assemblage A consists of the material that was found in the north/west corner of the central room, at the foot of the platform. It consists of fragments from a stirrup jar, fragments of three male clay figures, one fragment from a possible human clay figure, fragments of four bovine clay figures, including one rhyton, fragments of five animal figurines, fragments of two chariot groups, plaster fragments from a possible offering table, a bronze bird figurine, several beads, one fragment of a loomweight, one spindle whorl, a bone needle, a gold leaf fragment, a bronze pin, a fragment from a tortoise shell.⁸⁷

Assemblage B was found *in situ* on the platform against the southern part of the west wall. The pottery consists of two double jars and a stirrup jar. The other finds consist of two female figurines, several beads, two spindle whorls, a tin ring bezel, a bronze ring, a stone pendant, a stone lamp.⁸⁸ Other material found in the central room which can be associated with the collapse consists of a small amount of pottery, including two cooking pots, a female clay figurine, a bovine clay figure, a few beads, a shell, a silver ring, a stone tool.⁸⁹

⁸⁴ Renfrew 1985, 97-98.

⁸⁵ Renfrew 1985, 98.

⁸⁶ Renfrew 1985, 99-100.

⁸⁷ Renfrew 1985, 105-108.

⁸⁸ Renfrew 1985, 109-110.

⁸⁹ Renfrew 1985, 111.

Assemblage C was found in room A and the niche. Within the niche were found substantial fragments from four bovine clay figures including a rhyton, two fragments of female figures, a bead. The other material from Room A consists of two reused sherds, three female clay figures, two of which were almost complete, including the Lady of Phylakopi, the head of a female clay figure, one almost complete bovine figure, a fragment of a bovine figure, a spindle whorl, fragment of a loomweight, fragment of a mortar, a stone disc, a stone tool.⁹⁰

Within Room B were found a small amount of pottery, including a tripod cooking pot, a fragment of a female clay figurine, a fragment of a bovine figure which joins with one from the niche in Room A, an askos fragment, a clay disc, a piece of slag, a bone pin, a fragment of a quern, a fragment of a stone mortar, several stone tools, a stone disc, a marble slab.⁹¹

After the Collapse, two periods of use can be distinguished. The material comprising Assemblage G was found on or near the platform along the north section of the west wall and consists of fragments from three male clay figures, one of which joins with a fragment found on the platform from the period before the Collapse (Assemblage A), a female clay figurine, fragments from two possible human clay figures, fragments from four animal clay figurines, a fragment from a possible bovine clay figure, a fragment from a clay chariot group which joins with a chariot group found on the platform from the period before the Collapse (Assemblage A), several beads, two shells (one triton), a bronze arrowhead, two fragments of bronze, a strip of lead, a spindle whorl, a stone pendant, fragments from two mortars, a stone tool.⁹² On or near the platform in the north east corner were found a fragment of a crater, a bead, a marble disc.⁹³

Two assemblages can be connected with the latest period of use of the West Shrine. Assemblage J consists of the material found on or near the platform along the north part of the west wall. It consists of a small amount of pottery, a clay animal figurine, two fragments of bronze slag, a murex shell, a columnar lamp, a fragment of a quern, a stone tool.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ Renfrew 1985, 112-115.

⁹¹ Renfrew 116-117.

⁹² Renfrew 1985, 131-133.

⁹³ Renfrew 1985, 133.

⁹⁴ Renfrew 1985, 137.

Assemblage K consists of the material found on or near the platform in the north/east corner. The pottery consists of a double jar and a fragment of a deep bowl. The other finds consist of fragments from one (?) female figure, two female clay figurines, a few beads, a quern, two mortars and a fragment of a small mortar.⁹⁵ Other finds from the same area may be contemporary, but could also be somewhat earlier; they include a pedestal vase, a fragment of a deep bowl, three beads, a pierced stone.⁹⁶

B. EAST SHRINE

Dimensions. 4.8 x 2.2 m.

Orientation of the entrance. 199° east of north.

Orientation of the cult focus. 99° east of north.

Architecture. The East Shrine is a narrow rectangular building lying to the north and east of the West Shrine, on a roughly parallel axis. It consists of one room and has a bent-axis entrance in its southwest corner where it adjoins the West Shrine. There is a platform against the northern part of its east wall.⁹⁷ In the last period of use of the East Shrine, the floor was level with this platform; also at this time a north/south interior wall extending from the north wall was built, dividing the room into two parts.⁹⁸

Objects found. As in the West Shrine, the finds from the East Shrine can be divided into three groups. The finds from the early use of the East Shrine consist of fragments from three bovine clay figures, seven animal clay figurines, including three bovine, a fragment of a human clay figurine, two beads, a fragment of a bronze pin, a fragment of a bronze chisel, a boar's tusk, a fragment of a stone bowl, a fragment of a mortar.⁹⁹

Assemblage D can be associated with the period of the collapse. The finds were found along the foot of the platform and consist of fragments from five bovine clay figures, fifteen animal clay figurines, fragments of three clay chariot groups, a fragment of a driven ox clay figure, a fragment of a possible male clay figure, a fragment of a group figure, possibly belonging to one of the chariot groups, two beads, ten sealstones, a lead loop, a

⁹⁵ Renfrew 1985, 137.

⁹⁶ Renfrew 1985, 138.

⁹⁷ Renfrew 1985, 100-101.

⁹⁸ Renfrew 1985, 138.

⁹⁹ Renfrew 1985, 103.

bronze arrowhead, a bronze knife, a bronze fragment, an ivory handle, a tortoise shell and fragments of three others, a quartz crystal, a marble plaque. Other finds which can be associated with the collapse include a small amount of pottery, a spindle whorl, a coarse stone object.¹⁰⁰

From the period after the Collapse three periods of use can be distinguished. The first phase possibly belongs to the period when the Blocking Wall in the West Shrine was being built or it may have been a sub-phase of the second phase; the last two phases are probably contemporary with those of the West Shrine.¹⁰¹ The finds from the first phase were found near the platform and consist of a deep bowl, one fragment of clay bovine figure, fragments from six animal clay figurines, including one bovine, a bead, two clay spindle whorls, a stone pendant, a fragment of a tortoise shell.¹⁰² Assemblage H was located near the platform and can be associated with the second period of use. The material consists of a cooking pot, fragments of two bovine clay figures, eight animal figurines, two bovine, a bead, a tortoise shell, a fragment of a quern, a fragment of a clay mould for metal. From another part of the room came a fragment of bronze and a piece of bronze slag.¹⁰³

Assemblage L can be associated with the last period of use of the East Shrine. It was located to the east and west of the interior wall which had now been built. The finds consist of a pedestal vase, fragments of three female figurines, fragments of four bovine clay figures, eighteen animal clay figurines, a fragment of a driven ox, a gold mask, a fragment of bronze, two shells (one triton), fragments of ostrich shell, a fragment of tortoise shell, fragments of two spindle whorls, a stone handle, a quern.¹⁰⁴

C. STREET AND COURTYARD

A number of finds were also recovered from the street and the courtyard. Finds from before the construction of the East Shrine consist of fragments of a piriform jar, a fragment of a bovine figure, a fragment of a stone bowl, a bone point, a quern, two mortars, a fragment of a marble slab.

¹⁰⁰ Renfrew 1985, 117-121.

¹⁰¹ Renfrew 1985, 129.

¹⁰² Renfrew 1985, 129.

¹⁰³ Renfrew 1985, 134.

¹⁰⁴ Renfrew, 1985, 138-140.

Finds from the period after the East Shrine is built, consist of a small amount of pottery, fragments of two female clay figurines, fragments of four animal figurines, a possible fish rhyton, a fragment of a chariot group, a fragment of a clay throne, a bronze awl, a shell, a possible loomweight, a fragment of a stone vase, a small stone axe, a fragment of a quern a small mortar, two fragments of marble slabs.¹⁰⁵

From the period of the Collapse were found a large amount of pottery, a fragment of a female clay figurine, two fragments of animal figurines, a fragment of a clay chariot group which joins with fragments from within the East Shrine, fragment of a clay throne which joins with that found in an earlier level, a bead, a fragment of a tortoise shell, two strips of lead, a fragment of bronze, a quern, a mortar, a stone disc, a marble slab.¹⁰⁶

Finds from the period after the Collapse consist of a small amount of pottery, a fragment of a female clay figure, a fragment of a male clay figurine which joins with the fragment found within the West Shrine from the period before the Collapse (Assemblage A), a fragment of a possible human figure, fragments of eight bovine figures, including a rhyton, fragments of ten animal figurines, a fragment of fish rhyton which joins with that found in an earlier level, fragments of two chariot groups, one of which joins with a fragment found within the East Shrine in a level from before the Collapse (Assemblage D), the other with a fragment found within the West Shrine in a level from before the Collapse (Assemblage A), a scarab, a lead strip, two fragments of bronze, a fragment of a stone vase, a stone dress weight, a quern, a fragment of a quern, five mortars (four complete and one fragment).¹⁰⁷

5. PYLOS.

ROOM 93 IN THE PALACE AT PYLOS. Fig. 5.

Location and history of use. Room 93 is located in the north/east insula of the palace. The north/east insula seems to have formed a complex of rooms which was separate from the rest of the palace; it could be reached from the courtyard in front of the palace. It was destroyed with the rest of the palace at the end of LH IIIB.

Dimensions. 3.4 x 3.1 m.

¹⁰⁵ Renfrew 1985, 104-105.

¹⁰⁶ Renfrew 1985, 122-123.

¹⁰⁷ Renfrew 1985, 141-143.

Orientation of the entrance. 138° east of north.

Architecture. Room 93 is a small square room facing onto a court. The side opening on to the court is completely open, framed by antae blocks. Steps led up from the court into Room 93 as the floor level of Room 93 was at a higher level than that of the court. In the court there was a platform situated almost exactly on the longitudinal axis of Room 93. The platform was almost square and had been covered in painted plaster with a design of wavy lines forming scallops and curving bands.¹⁰⁸ Room 93 does not communicate directly with any of the other rooms in the north/east insula. There was no other evidence for cult within this complex. The other rooms in the north/east insula have been interpreted as workshop areas on account of the Linear B tablets and sealings found in them as well as the remains (cores, debitage) of lithic activity.¹⁰⁹

Objects found. The floor and contents of Room 93 had been destroyed and very few objects were recovered from the room. The objects found consist of a certain amount of pottery, including kylikes and miniature kylikes, a small piece of bronze wire, chips and flakes of obsidian, flint, and quartz.¹¹⁰

Finds from the court consisted of a large amount of pottery, including many fragments of kylikes, a clay whorl, a clay loomweight, three Linear B tablets, many fragments of bronze, a steatite dress weight, an obsidian core, flakes and chips of obsidian, flint, and quartz.

6. TIRYNS. Figs. 6, 7, 8, 9.

Location and history of use. At Tiryns, along the west wall of the Unterburg, there was a succession of several sanctuaries facing onto a court which was delimited by the surrounding buildings. These structures all date to the LH IIIC period. No cult buildings dating to the LH IIIB period have been uncovered in the Unterburg at Tiryns. However deposits of cult material dating to that period have been found in front of Casemate 7. The earliest deposit contained nine female clay figurines, five animal clay figurines, and two chariot groups. A later deposit contained seven female clay figures, seven animal figures, a miniature vase, frag-

¹⁰⁸ Blegen & Rawson 1966, 302.

¹⁰⁹ Blegen & Rawson 1966, 301-305; Hägg 1968, 42.

¹¹⁰ Blegen & Rawson 1966, 305.

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ments of a rhyton. It was suggested that Casemate 7 was used for cult purposes and that these deposits were the results of cleaning operations.¹¹¹ The similarity between this material and that found in the LH IIIC cult buildings suggests that the later structures represent continuity of cult from the LH IIIB period in the Unterburg at Tiryns. The earliest of the cult buildings dating to LH IIIC was Room 119 which was characterised by the excavator, Kilian, as provisional on account of its careless construction. It was in use only for a short time.¹¹² It was succeeded by Room 117 still in an early phase of LH IIIC. Room 117 was destroyed, the remains were levelled and it was succeeded by Room 110.¹¹³ Room 110 was in turn destroyed, most likely by earthquake, possibly the same which caused the destruction of the Granary at Mycenae.¹¹⁴ It was succeeded by Room 110a in a late phase of LH IIIC.

A. ROOM 119

Dimensions. 3.7 x 3.7 m.

Architecture. Room 119 was a roughly square room with rounded corners. It was sunken into the ground.¹¹⁵ The entrance to Room 119 could not be determined with certainty, but probably lay to the west.¹¹⁶ Two floors were distinguished. There was a hearth on the earlier floor.

Objects found. On the earlier floor were found a stirrup jar, fragments of two figurines, an animal figurine. Finds from the later floor consist of six female clay figurines, five animal clay figurines, a fragment of a female clay figure.¹¹⁷ In front of the probable entrance area were found six female clay figurines(?), four animal clay figures.

B. ROOM 117

Dimensions. 2.6 x 2.0 m.

Orientation of the entrance. 62° east of north.

Orientation of the cult focus. 245° east of north.

¹¹¹ Kilian 1981A, 170-171; 1981B, 53.

¹¹² 1981, 162-165.

¹¹³ Kilian 1979, 393.

¹¹⁴ Kilian 1978, 466.

¹¹⁵ Kilian 1992, 21.

¹¹⁶ Kilian 1981A, 164; 1981B, 53.

¹¹⁷ Kilian 1981A, 162-164.

Architecture. Room 117 is a small rectangular building, consisting of a single room built against the west fortification wall which forms the back wall of the sanctuary. It is oriented roughly east/west. The building faces onto a court. To the north of Room 117 there was a horseshoe-shaped altar. The entrance is to the east and is off-axis. Within the room there was a platform with a central niche extending along the length of the west wall; later this niche was filled in with small stones and mudbrick so that in its final phase the room had a platform running the entire length of the back wall. In front of the platform, on either side against the south and north walls were low square steps. In the centre of the room there was preserved the impression of squared wood, possibly from a column, and there were three stone bases against the facade.¹¹⁸ In contrast to Room 119, Room 117 is exceptional for its quality of construction.

Objects found. The finds from Room 117 consist of fine decorated pottery including miniature vases,¹¹⁹ a female clay figure, three psi-figurines, a glass pendant, a glass bead, several small flat rings of uncertain material, lead rings, a bone needle.¹²⁰ Another female clay figure and a clay rhyton in the form of a bull were found between Room 117 and the altar to the north.¹²¹

In the courtyard to the east and south of Room 117 were found several miniature vases, twenty-two clay figurines.¹²²

Below the north/east corner of Room 117 were found four miniature vases, interpreted as an offering made at the time of construction.¹²³

C. ROOM 110

Dimensions. 3.2 x 1.4 m.

Orientation of the entrance. 65° east of north.

Orientation of the cult focus. 245° east of north.

Architecture. Room 110 was constructed over the ruins of Room 117. The structure is longer and narrower than Room 117. The east side facing onto

¹¹⁸ Kilian 1979, 390; 1981B, 53.

¹¹⁹ Kilian 1978, 465; 1979, 423, Pl. 42.

¹²⁰ Kilian 1979, 390; 1981B, 53.

¹²¹ Kilian 1979, 390-391.

¹²² Kilian 1979, 391.

¹²³ Kilian 1979, 393; 1981B, 53.

the court was almost completely open. There was a platform against the west wall.¹²⁴

Objects found. The finds from Room 110 consist of fine decorated pottery,¹²⁵ two female clay figures and fragments of five others, a fragment of an animal figurine, a stone bead, a bone needle.¹²⁶ The female clay figures, a bowl, and a skyphos were found together on the floor below the platform from which they presumably had fallen.¹²⁷

D ROOM 110a

Dimensions. 3.6 x 1.4 m.

Orientation of the entrance. 65° east of north.

Orientation of the cult focus. 245° east of north.

Architecture. Room 110a was built over Room 110. It is a rectangular building with slightly projecting antae forming a shallow porch. There is a platform against the west wall. In the court to the south there is an altar.

Objects found. A female clay figure was found lying in front of the platform.¹²⁸ No other finds from inside the room have been reported. Three animal clay figurines were found in the area between the altar and Room 110a. Also near the altar were found an amphoriskos and two cups.

¹²⁴ Kilian 1981B, 53.

¹²⁵ Kilian 1978, 495-497.

¹²⁶ Kilian 1978, 463-465.

¹²⁷ Kilian 1978, 464; 1981B, 56.

¹²⁸ Kilian 1978, 461.

CATALOGUE OF LATE MINOAN III SANCTUARIES WHICH CAN BE ASSOCIATED WITH THE GODDESS WITH THE UPRAISED ARMS

1. AYIA TRIADHA, BUILDING H¹ Fig. 10

Location and history of use. Building H is located in the area south of the villa, to the east of the Piazzale dei Sacelli, an open air sanctuary, also in use in the LM III period. Building H was constructed in LM IIIA2, a period of much building activity at Ayia Triadha.²

Dimensions. 4.05 x 4.2 m.

Architecture. Building H is a separate structure consisting of a main room entered through an anteroom. There was a pier-and-door partition between the main room and the anteroom. The reconstruction of the anteroom is uncertain. Opposite the entrance into the main room there was a plastered platform running the entire length of the back wall.³ Three phases of use have been recognised. In its earliest phase, the floor was covered in plaster decorated with marine motifs (octopus with fish and dolphins). The walls seem to have been covered with plaster painted to imitate marble.⁴ After a fire, the floor was twice resurfaced with earth. The walls and the platform were covered in white plaster with a red border along the lower part of the walls.⁵

Objects found.

On the earliest floor the pottery consisted of three basins, a few cups as well as the bases of three snake tubes. A square of glass paste and a piece of gold leaf were also found.⁶ The base of one snake tube was found on the

¹ Gesell 1985, Cat. 15.

² La Rosa 1985, 128-129; La Rosa 1992, 619.

³ Banti 1941-1943, 28-32; Hayden 1981, 54.

⁴ Banti 1941-1943, 32-33; Hirsch 1980, 459-462.

⁵ Banti 1941-1943, 38-39.

⁶ Banti 1941-1943, 33, 36-37.

second floor. On the latest floor, three snake tubes and a lamp were found. Conical cups and miniature vases, some of which were upside down, were found on the platform.⁷

2. GAZI⁸ Fig. 11.

Location and history of use. Gazi is located on the north coast of Crete. The sanctuary does not seem to have been in use before the LM III period.

Dimensions. 4.0 x 2.75-2.9 m.

Architecture. The shrine was in a roughly square room which was part of a larger building, the extent of which is unknown since it was not completely excavated. There were no interior installations within the room. The position of the entrance could not be ascertained.⁹

Objects found. The finds consisted of five goddess figures with upraised arms, two snake tubes, a rectangular clay offering table, a stone concretion. The pottery consisted of two kylikes, two bowls, a jug, a two-handled jar, and a cylindrical vessel. Two of the goddess figures were found close to the north wall and were apparently standing upright and facing south.¹⁰

3. GOURNIA¹¹ Fig. 12.

Location and history of use. Gournia is located on the gulf of Mirabello in north/east Crete. The settlement was destroyed at the end of LM IB and was resettled in LM III.

Dimensions. 4.0 x 3.0 m.

Architecture. The sanctuary consisted of a free-standing building, located at the east end of an east/west street. Steps led up to the entrance and the main room was entered directly from the street. There was a platform along the south wall.¹² The sanctuary may have been connected with a court lying to the north of the building. The west wall of the main room apparently extended to the south and formed the west wall of two more

⁷ Banti 1941-1943, 39; Gesell 1976, 250, 256 (Cat. 7).

⁸ Alexiou 1958, 188-192; Gesell 1985, Cat. 5.

⁹ S. Marinatos 1937, 279.

¹⁰ S. Marinatos 1937, 279; Gesell 1976, 248, 255-256 (Cat. 1, 2).

¹¹ Alexiou 1958, 185-187; Gesell 1985, Cat. 10.

¹² Boyd Hawes 1908, 47.

rooms which may have been auxiliary rooms. Another room lying further to the south may also have been part of the same complex.¹³

Objects found. In the north/east corner of the room were found one complete goddess figure with upraised arms and fragments of several others. Three almost complete snake tubes and a fragment of a snake tube were found standing around a plastered terracotta tripod offering table. The base of a fifth snake tube was found on the table. The remaining finds consisted of a small clay figurine holding a staff, four small clay birds, two small clay snakes' heads, fragment of a pithos, pieces of mother-of-pearl.¹⁴

4. KANNIA¹⁵ Fig. 13

Location and history of use. The villa at Kannia is located in the Mesara, in the vicinity of Gortys. Material of a cultic nature was found in several rooms in the eastern part of the building whose construction probably dates to LM I. Apart from the stirrup jar from Room V which is LM IIIB, the pottery is mostly LM I. In the western part of the building were several storerooms containing large pithoi. It was not possible to determine whether there was an upper storey which would have been used for habitation. No foundations of staircases were identified, but could have existed in Corridor X or Area XXIV. The remains of the building had been disturbed by modern agricultural activity.

Dimensions. Room I: 4.3 x 3.3 m.; Room V: 3.0 x 3.0 m; Room VI: 3.0 x 3.0 m; Room XV: 4.0 x 1.0 m.

Architecture. The rooms of the sanctuary complex were connected by a wide corridor (Rooms XVIII, IIIB), but had no connection with the rest of the building. The entrance from the outside was not ascertained. Within Room I, a row of flagstones formed a low platform against the western wall. To the east of this platform, in the middle of the room, a small ovoid pithos was found embedded in the ground. It is uncertain how Room I was entered. Room III was a narrow alcove at the end of the corridor between Room I and Room IV which was a storeroom. Room V was an approximately square room entered from Room III as could be Room VI which lay opposite Room V. In Room V there was a platform

¹³ Hayden 1981, 26-27; McEnroe 1979, 220-221.

¹⁴ Boyd Hawes 1908, 47-48; Gesell 1976, 248-249, 256 (Cat. 3-6); Fotou 1993, 92.

¹⁵ Alexiou 1958, 195-202; Gesell 1985, Cat. 21.

against the north wall and another somewhat shorter platform against the south wall. In the south/east corner of the room, a rectangular space had been enclosed by upright slabs. Within this space were the remains of oyster and mussel shells mixed with ashes and the area could be identified as a hearth. In Room VI there was a square stone construction which was identified as a possible bothros. Room XV was a very small room within which there was a low platform in the western part of the room.

Objects found. Most of the finds from Room I were found on or close to the row of flagstones. These include four goddess figures with upraised arms, two of which were relatively well preserved, and further fragments of such figures, as well as three snake tubes. Other finds consisted of two fragments of a clay plaque with a relief depiction of a female figure with upraised arms, several fragmentary clay human figurines including one male figure, a clay bovine head, a conical cup, a flower pot, a black stone disc and a glass bead from necklaces.¹⁶

Within Room III, were found numerous fragments of goddess figures with upraised arms, including the upper part of a head and fragments of arms from a large figure or figures. Palettes, miniature clay horns of consecration and a clay dove may also have been attached to goddess figures. A stone offering table was found against the wall between Room I and Room III.¹⁷

Within Room V, the base of a goddess figure with upraised arms was found on the south platform and a head which was found close by may also have belonged to the same figure. Also on the south platform was found a plaque with relief decoration showing two sphinxes on either side of a palm tree which seems to be sprouting from an altar. On the ground, close to the platform were three large fruitstands, a fragment of a snake tube with a plastic bull's head, and a male figurine. An octagonal stone offering table and a bird's nest bowl, were found in situ on the north platform. On the floor close to the platform were found a snake tube, a clay bull's head, and the upper part of a minuscule female figurine. Against the west wall, close to the platform, a goddess figure with upraised arms was found broken in two. Fragments of further goddess figures were also found in the room. On top of the hearth in the

¹⁶ Levi 1959, 245-246; Gesell 1976, 250, 256-257 (Cat. 9, 11, 12).

¹⁷ Levi 1959, 246.

south/east corner were found a clay quadruped figure and a clay dove. Further finds consisted of a vase in the shape of a goddess' head, a plaque with incised schematic decoration, a triton shell, a large stirrup jar, and a heart-shaped pendant in rock crystal, as well as numerous fragments of pottery and female figures.¹⁸

Within Room VI were found six small female figurines, six miniature jugs, miniature bowls, conical cups.¹⁹

On the platform within Room XV were found a snake tube and a basin with handles. A goddess figure with upraised arms was found within the room. Other finds include a stepped stone offering table with incised horns of consecration on one side and Minoan signs on the other sides, a small clay plaque, a fragmentary clay painted disc, a clay incense burner, conical cups, a fair amount of pottery including fragments of flower pots.²⁰

5. KAPHI Fig. 14.

Location and history of use. Kaphi, which is located high in the mountains above the Lasithi plain, was apparently a refugee settlement of the LM IIIC period. At Kaphi, goddess figures and snake tubes were found in several localities, representing, it would seem, separate sanctuaries at the site.

A. TEMPLE.²¹

Dimensions. Room 1: 5.0 x 8.0 m.

Architecture. The Temple is an independent building, consisting of a large room with several adjoining smaller rooms. The main room, Room 1 may have been open to the sky. There was a stepped entrance from the outside into Room 1 from the east, but it is uncertain whether there was a north wall or whether the room was also completely open to the north. Against the south wall of the room there was a stone platform. Along the west wall, there was a shelf ca. 80 cm above the level of the floor. In the south/west corner a flight of steps led to the other rooms of the building.

¹⁸ Levi 1959, 246 - 248; Gesell 1976, 251, 257 (Cat. 10, 13).

¹⁹ Levi 1959, 248.

²⁰ Levi 1959, 249; Gesell 1976, 251, 256 (Cat. 8).

²¹ Alexiou 1958, 192-194; Gesell 1985, Cat. 22.

Outside the building, to the north of Room 1, there was a free-standing square stone platform.²²

Objects found. The finds consisted of five goddess figures with upraised arms and fragments of others, a clay plaque, the upper part of which is in the shape of a face with features in relief, a steatite seal, several spindle whorls, a bead, shells, including a triton shell, four stone tools, pottery, including an exceptional group of blue ware found in one of the adjoining rooms.²³

B. ROOM 16-17.²⁴

Dimensions. 5.5 x 6.5 m.

Architecture. Room 16-17 consisted of a large walled unroofed area which was connected to the Great House, the largest house on the site. It was approached by a stepped passage. Room 70 which lay to the east may have been connected with the shrine. No information is provided as to whether there was access into Room 70 from Room 16-17.²⁵

Objects found. The finds consisted of fragments of female clay figures with upraised arms, fragments of a snake tube, several small clay terracotta figurines, fragments of a triton shell, fragments of a boar's tusk, bronze tools, spindle whorls, spool, pottery.²⁶

In Room 70 were found fragments of a female clay figure with upraised arms, fragment of a terracotta plaque, fragment of a snake tube, stone bowl, stone pestle, pottery.²⁷

C. Room 58

Dimensions. 3.5 x 2.0 m.

Architecture. Room 58 was a small room located in a larger structure. It was however, only accessible from the street to the south. In the north/west corner of the room there was a projecting rock which may have served as a platform.²⁸

²² Students BSA 1937-1938, 75.

²³ Students BSA 1937-1938, 75-76; Gesell 1985, 79.

²⁴ Gesell 1985, Cat. 23.

²⁵ Students BSA 1937-1938, 77.

²⁶ Students BSA 1937-1938, 78-79; Gesell 1976, 252.

²⁷ Students BSA 1937-1938, 86; Gesell 1976, 252.

²⁸ Students BSA 1937-1938, 85.

Objects found. The objects found include two snake tubes, one of which is square in section found in the south/east corner of the room, two spindle whorls, a fragment of bronze, a fair amount of pottery.²⁹

D. ROOM 116.³⁰

Dimensions. 3.7 x 2.8 m.

Architecture. Room 116 was located in a building complex interpreted as a commercial quarter. There was no direct communication with the rest of the complex and Room 116 was entered from a courtyard to the south (Room 89) which opened on to another courtyard (Room 79) from which the street and the rest of the complex could be reached. The floor is uneven and lies at a higher level in the northern part of the room.³¹

Objects found. Within Room 116 were found fragments of at least two goddess figures with upraised arms, fragments of a terracotta plaque, spindle whorls, stone tools, pottery.

Within Rooms 79 and 89 were found further fragments of goddess figures with upraised arms.³²

6. KATSAMBA Fig. 15.³³

Location and history of use. LM IIIB

Dimensions. 1.9 x 2.6 x 3.2m.

Architecture. The shrine consisted of a triangular-shaped room adjoining what seems to have been a private house. The shape of the room was determined by the street which ran at an angle towards the house. There was a separate entrance into the shrine and there was no connection between it and the rest of the house. Connected to the east wall was a stone platform constructed of two stone slabs laid on three upright slabs.³⁴

²⁹ Students BSA 1937-1938, 85; Gesell 1976, 252, 257 (Cat. 14, 15).

³⁰ Gesell 1985, Cat. 29.

³¹ Students BSA 1937-1938 87.

³² Students BSA 1937-1938, 89; Gesell 1985, 82.

³³ Gesell 1985, Cat. 30.

³⁴ Alexiou 1955, 312-313.

Objects found. The finds consisted of two snake tubes which were found standing in front of the platform, an incense burner, a pyxis, two cups.³⁵

7. KAVOUSI, BUILDING G Fig. 16.

Location and history of use. Building G is located within a LM IIIC settlement on the Vronda ridge in north/east Crete.

Dimensions. Room 1: 6.0 x 4.2 m; Room 2: 2.3 x 4.2 m.

Architecture. Building G consisted of two rooms. The position of the entrance is uncertain. A bench ran along the west wall of the building on the outside. Within Room 1 there was a platform along the east wall. Within Room 2, there were benches along the north and south walls and a ledge in the east wall. A burnt area in the centre of the room may have been a hearth.³⁶

Objects found. Several plaques and a fragment of a goddess figure were found in a clay deposit in the north/east corner of Room 1. Fragments from other goddess figures as well as fragments of plaques, kalathoi, and snake tubes were also found in Room 1.

One goddess figure, six snake tubes, fragments of plaques and kalathoi were found in Room 2.

South of Building G a deposit containing fragments of at least 17 goddess figures, 14 snake tubes, and 22 plaques was found. A small bull figurine was also found in this deposit.³⁷

8. KEPHALA KHONDROU³⁸ Fig. 17.

Location and history of use. Kephala Khondrou is located close to the south coast, south/west of the Lasithi Plain. The site was first settled in LM IIIA.³⁹

³⁵ Alexiou 1955, 313; Gesell 1976, 252, 257 (Cat. 16).

³⁶ Gesell et al. 1995, 78-80.

³⁷ Gesell et al. 1995, 79-80.

³⁸ Gesell 1985, Cat. 31.

³⁹ Platon 1957, 137; Hayden 1981, 31.

Architecture. The shrine seems to have been on the upper floor of House A₁- L₁ which lay in the central part of the settlement and may have had an official function.⁴⁰

Objects found. The deposit included a snake tube, a conical rhyton, fragment of a paturient female figurine, head from female figurine, fragment of an offering table, conical cups, a triton shell.⁴¹

9. KNOSSOS

A. SHRINE OF THE DOUBLE AXES⁴² Fig. 18.

Location and history of use. The shrine is situated in the east wing of the palace. There is earlier evidence for cult in the south/east part of the palace.

Dimensions. 1.5 x 1.5 m.

Architecture. The floor of the shrine was on three levels with the highest level furthest from the entrance, where most of the cult objects seem to have been located. On the second level, there was a fixed plaster tripod offering table. Both the second and the highest level were strewn with waterworn pebbles.⁴³

Objects found. The finds consisted of one female clay figure with upraised arms and cylindrical skirt, two female clay figures with cylindrical skirts holding hands on breasts, a female figurine, one male clay figure holding a bird, two plaster horns of consecration, a miniature steatite double-axe, pottery including a small jar, jugs, bowls, cups, and a stirrup jar.⁴⁴

B. UNEXPLORED MANSION⁴⁵ Fig. 19.

Location and history of use. The Unexplored Mansion lies to the west of the Little Palace with which it was linked by a bridge.⁴⁶ Construction on

⁴⁰ Platon 1957, 141.

⁴¹ Platon 1957, 143-145; Gesell 1976, 252-253, 257-258 (Cat. 7).

⁴² Alexiou 1958, 202-204; Gesell 1985, Cat. 37.

⁴³ Evans 1901-1902, 96; 1928, 336.

⁴⁴ Evans 1901-1902, 96-101; 1921, 52, 1928, 336-343.

⁴⁵ Gesell 1985, Cat. 68.

⁴⁶ Popham et al. 1984, 99.

the building commenced in LM IA, but it was first occupied in LM II. Still in LM II it was severely damaged by fire, after which it was partially cleared out, repaired, and reoccupied. The Unexplored Mansion was abandoned in LM IIIB.⁴⁷ There seems to have been a shrine in the building in the LM II period as well as in the Post-palatial period.

Architecture. The building is rectangular in plan. The central section of the ground floor consists of a Pillar Hall while the north and south sections consist of a series of rooms opening off one side of a corridor. There are also corridors on the north and south ends of the building. Each section had its own staircase leading to an upper storey. It seems very likely that the layout of the upper floor corresponds closely to that of the lower rooms.⁴⁸ The original layout of the north section of the building was altered after the LM II destruction by the blocking of doorways, the building of partition walls and the opening of new doorways.⁴⁹ The area above the Pillar Hall may have been a courtyard in this period.⁵⁰ There is no evidence for entrances or indications of how the building was approached in the Post-palatial period.

Objects found. A goddess figure with upraised arms, a male figurine, an animal askos, a miniature conical cup as well as pottery including a stirrup jar with a painted Linear B inscription and cups and kylikes were found in Rooms C and D and were believed to have fallen from the upper floor.⁵¹

10. KOMMOS, HOUSE WITH THE SNAKE TUBE, ROOM 4⁵² Fig. 20.

Location and history of use. Kommos was a harbour town in south/central Crete. The House of the Snake Tube is located on the Central Hillside at Kommos. It was built in LM I.⁵³ There is not much evidence preserved concerning the function of the house in LM I and LM II; there is no evidence for cult use in this period and the majority of the

⁴⁷ Popham et al. 1984, 2-3, 261.

⁴⁸ Popham et al. 1984, 262.

⁴⁹ Popham et al. 1984, 105.

⁵⁰ Popham et al. 1984, 18, 263.

⁵¹ Popham et al. 198, 262.

⁵² Gesell 1985, Cat. 69

⁵³ McEnroe 1996, 199.

finds seem connected with food processing.⁵⁴ A cultic usage has been suggested for Room 4 in the LM IIIB period. The House with the Snake Tube went out of use before the end of LM IIIB when the settlement at Kommos was abandoned.

Dimensions. 2.25 x 3.2 m.

Architecture. The House with the Snake tube was originally a single-storey building, built on an approximately rectangular plan. The main entrance seems to have been from the street to the west into Room 3a.⁵⁵ In the LM IIIA2 and LM IIIB periods, the house was considerably altered.⁵⁶ Rooms 3a and 3b were combined with Space 13 to the north.⁵⁷ The north wall of Room 4 was also removed so that in this period, there was no wall between Rooms 4 and 3/13, although a division is marked by a stone platform against the eastern wall and a hearth to the west of it. At some point during LM IIIB, a series of walls was built in front of the original entrance from the street into Room 3a.⁵⁸ The south wall of Room 4 was also demolished leaving Room 4 completely open to the outside on the south. Through a doorway in the southern part of its eastern wall Room 4 also communicated with other rooms to the east. Within Room 4, a large slab laid on top of several smaller stones formed a platform against the west wall near the entrance. There was a stone enclosure, constructed of three upright slabs around a slab placed flat on the ground, in the north/west corner of the room and to the east of this enclosure several stone slabs had been set into the floor.⁵⁹

Objects found. Finds from Room 4 in the LM IIIB period include a number of sherds, a coarse ware bowl, the fragments of two large cooking pots, two goblet feet, and a brazier. A snake tube was found *in situ* on a slab against the east wall. The snake tube was decorated with bands of black paint and had loop handles on either side. Two terracotta birds attached to the handles were also preserved. A conical cup had been placed on the snake tube.⁶⁰

⁵⁴ McEnroe 1996, 212.

⁵⁵ McEnroe 1996, 203.

⁵⁶ McEnroe 1996, 217.

⁵⁷ McEnroe 1996, 224.

⁵⁸ McEnroe 1996, 224.

⁵⁹ McEnroe 1996, 226-227.

⁶⁰ McEnroe 1996, 226-229.

11. KOUMASA⁶¹

Location and history of use. Koumasa is located south of the Mesara, in the foothills of the Asterousia mountains. The sanctuary is situated on the summit of Korakies hill. It lay in a settlement which extended over the slopes and peak of the hill. It is possible that the building was first constructed in the Middle Minoan period and continued in use or was reused in the Late Minoan III period.

Architecture. The building is very badly preserved and no plan has been published. The original publication mentions a building with several small rooms. One of the rooms had a flagged floor and preserved a stone base for a post.⁶²

Objects found. The finds consist of three clay lamps, three small jugs, two snake tubes, a fragment of a rectangular clay offering table, a stone bowl, a miniature stone libation table, a conical stone object, and a stone tool. Apart from the stone tool which cannot be closely dated and the snake tubes, all of the objects are Middle Minoan or Late Minoan I in date.⁶³

12. PRINIAS⁶⁴

Location and history of use. Prinias is located in central Crete on a plateau at the junction of two valleys connecting the north and south coasts, a position which allowed Prinias to control the only route between the north and south coasts in central Crete.⁶⁵ The earliest remains of settlement date to near the end of the Bronze Age and it seems possible that Prinias was a LM IIIC refuge settlement.⁶⁶ The cult objects could not be associated with any specific architectural remains as the area in which they were found had been heavily disturbed. The deposit has been dated to LM IIIB/C on stylistic grounds.⁶⁷

⁶¹ Gesell 1985, Cat. 70. No plan has been published.

⁶² Xanthoudides 1906 (quoted in Georgoulaki 1990, 7).

⁶³ Georgoulaki 1990; Gesell 1976, 253, 258 (Cat. 18, 19).

⁶⁴ Alexiou 1958, 181-185; Gesell 1985, Cat. 118.

⁶⁵ Rizza 1996, 1108.

⁶⁶ Rizza 1996, 1102.

⁶⁷ Rizza 1984, 143-144.

Objects found. The finds consisted of a goddess figure with cylindrical skirt and upraised arms and fragments from at least four others and five snake tubes.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ Wide 1901, 247-249; Gesell 1976, 253, 258 (Cat. 20-24); 1985, 132.

CATALOGUE OF PALESTINIAN TEMPLES WITH IRREGULAR PLAN AND INDIRECT ACCESS

1. BETH SHAN

THE TEMPLE OF STRATUM R3 Fig. 21.

Location and history of use. Beth Shan is situated in the central part of the Jordan Valley, and was an important station in a trade route which led inland from the coast to Transjordan. Beth Shan was an Egyptian governmental stronghold in the Late Bronze Age. The temple of Stratum R3 was located in Area R, below the central courtyard of the Stratum IX sacred enclosure.¹ It can be dated to LB IA. It is possible that there was a sacred compound in the area also in the Middle Bronze Age.²

Dimensions. Anteroom: 9.0 x 3.2 m; Main room: 7.3 x 5.6 m; Back room: 7.8 x 2.0 - 3.2 m.

Orientation of the entrance. 180° east of north ?

Orientation of the cult focus. 270° east of north?

Architecture. The temple was built of mudbrick and the walls were coated on the inside with white plaster. The south wall of the temple was badly preserved and the location of the main entrance is therefore uncertain.³ There was a bent-axis entrance from the anteroom into the main room. The main room is narrower than the anteroom as its width was reduced by two narrow rooms lying to the west. Within the main room, there was a short partition wall extending from the south wall, creating a narrow space between it and the west wall. Against this partition wall, in the south/west corner were two platforms of unequal height. On the southernmost platform, there was a depression perhaps for a wooden post.⁴ A cylindrical stone was also found on the platform. There were

¹ Mazar 1990, 108; 1993A, 611.

² Mazar 1993A, 611.

³ Mazar 1993A, 611.

⁴ Mazar (1993A, 612) suggests a comparison with the temple of Stratum XI at Tel Mevorakh where the impression of a post was preserved close to the podium.

narrow platforms running along the east, north, and south walls. To the north of the main room, there was a back room with platforms along the walls.⁵ Within the northernmost room of the two rooms lying to the west, there was a central depression and platforms against the walls. At a later stage, a small square room was added to the south/west corner of the building. The temple seems to have been part of a larger building complex.⁶ It seems to have been intentionally abandoned.⁷

Objects found. The finds consist of a small amount of pottery sherds, two scarabs, a fragment of a bronze statuette, probably of the smiting god type.⁸ Small cylindrical stands were found in the northernmost of the two rooms lying to the west of the main room.⁹ A large number of animal bones were found in the fill of the temple.

2. LACHISH Figs. 22, 23, 24.

Location and history of use. At Lachish (Tell ed-Duweir) there were three successive temples situated in the fosse of the Middle Bronze Age fortifications which had gone out of use. The temples were located at the foot of the western slope of the hill. Fosse Temple I was built at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age at a time when there seems to have been no habitation at Lachish; after the destruction of the Middle Bronze Age city of Level VIII it seems the site was not settled again until the time when Fosse Temple II was in use.¹⁰ The site was apparently densely settled at the time of Fosse Temple III although the temple remained outside the settlement. Fosse Temple III was destroyed at the end of the Late Bronze Age along with the entire settlement of Lachish (Level VI); this destruction can be attributed either to the Israelites or to the Sea Peoples.¹¹ There are no signs of deliberate destruction in the first two temples. The orientation and location of the cult focus is the same in all three temples.

⁵ Mazar 1993A, 611-612.

⁶ Mazar 1993A, 612-613.

⁷ Mazar 1993A, 614.

⁸ Mazar 1993A, 614-615.

⁹ Mazar 1993A, 612.

¹⁰ Ussishkin 1978, 91.

¹¹ Clamer & Ussishkin 1977, 71; Ussishkin 1978, 92; 1985, 211-230.

A. FOSSE TEMPLE I

Dimensions. Main room: 9.8 x 5.0 m; Room A: 3.3 x 3.0 m; Room B: 3.2 x 2.1 m.

Orientation of the entrance. a: 263° east of north; b: 83° east of north.

Orientation of the cult focus. 176° east of north.

Architecture. Fosse Temple I is not as well preserved as Fosse Temples II and III. There were two entrances to the building, both leading directly into the main room. The main entrance was bent-axis located in the west wall while a second bent-axis entrance in the east wall led into the area between the temple and the slope of the hill.¹² There was a long, narrow platform located centrally against the south wall which could be identified as the cult focus. It had three projections on the north side of which the central one was of the same height as the platform while the two side projections were only half as high, but extended further into the room. At the east end of the platform there was a narrow space left between it and the back wall. Two jars with deliberately broken bottoms were embedded in the floor in front of the platform.¹³ The bases of two posts placed along the long axis of the main room are preserved. There was a narrow platform along part of the west wall to the right of the entrance. To the north of the main room, there was a subsidiary room which could only be entered from the outside and did not communicate directly with the main room (Room A). There was also a second room extending from the west wall of the temple (Room B) which could only be entered from the main room.

Objects found. Within the main room was found a small amount of pottery, a gold pendant, a gold earring, three gold bosses, a gold plated stud, two metal figurines of Canaanite gods, two scarabs, a steatite seal, a cylinder seal, animal bones. A fair amount of pottery, including a large number of dipper flasks, and a bead were found on the cult focus.

B. FOSSE TEMPLE II

Dimensions. Main room: 10.2 x 10.6 m; Room A: 7.6 x 4.3 m; Room F: 5.0 x 8.0 m.

Orientation of the entrance. a: 356° east of north; b: 176° east of north.

¹² Tufnell et al. 1940, 36-37.

¹³ Tufnell et al. 1940, 38-39.

Orientation of the cult focus. 176⁰ east of north.

Architecture. Fosse Temple II represents a remodelling of Fosse Temple I on a larger scale in that the main room is now more than twice as wide and slightly longer, incorporating Room B. Fosse Temple II had two entrances from the outside, more or less aligned with each other, to the west of the central axis of the building; there was an off-axis entrance from the north through an anteroom (Room A) which replaces Room A of the earlier structure and a second entrance was through a door located in the south wall to the west of the cult focus.¹⁴ The cult focus could be identified with a long narrow platform with a small central square projection the same height as the platform against the south wall. On the west side of the platform there was a niche. Approximately one metre in front of the platform, there was a small hearth constructed as a small depression in the floor surrounded by a curb of clay and plaster.¹⁵ The bases remain of two rows of two posts. A doorway to the east of the platform led into a subsidiary room (Room F). Room F could also be entered directly from the outside. Both the main room and Room F had narrow platforms along the walls and additional platforms were located parallel to the walls.

Objects found. Within the main room was found a fairly large amount of pottery, much of which consisted of bowls, many of which were found lying on the platforms, an ivory mask, an ivory lid with a duck attachment, a serpentine vase, two gold pendants, a gold plated stud, a bronze pin, an arrowhead, four scarabs, a steatite spindle whorl, a fair amount of beads, an ostrich egg.

Within Room F was found a fair amount of pottery, a fragment of a glass vessel, a gold plated stud, a scarab, a cylinder seal.

C. FOSSE TEMPLE III

Dimensions. Main room: 10.2 x 10.6 m; Room A: 7.6 x 4.3 m; Room F: 5.0 x 6.2 m; Room E: 4.0 x 4.6 m.

Orientation of the entrance. 356⁰ east of north.

Orientation of the cult focus. 176⁰ east of north.

¹⁴ Tufnell et al. 1940, 37-38.

¹⁵ Tufnell et al. 1940, 39-40.

Architecture. Fosse Temple III is rebuilt on the same plan as Fosse Temple II, but with the addition of another room (Room E) at the back, next to Room F. This room did not communicate with Room F but could only be entered from the main room. The cult focus could be identified with a square platform which was almost halfway recessed into the south wall. The front edge is slightly raised and at the back of the platform against the wall there was a narrow shelf. In a second phase a square extension with three steps leading up from the west was built on to the north side of the platform; this extension was slightly higher than the platform itself. As in Fosse Temple II there was a hearth located on the floor in front of the platform, but with two depressions. As in the earlier temple there were also two rows of two posts. Three square niches were built into the east wall, approximately one metre above the floor (average size H 75 cm; W 60 cm; D 75 cm). Within the main room there were narrow platforms along the east, west, and north walls in three parallel rows.¹⁶

Objects found. Within the main room was found a large amount of pottery, mainly bowls, an alabaster pilgrim's flask, a small terracotta animal, possibly a lion, two scarabs, three glass beads, animal bones. Next to the cult focus was found a cylindrical terracotta stand.

At the southeast corner of the cult focus was found a cache of small valuable objects; these include an ivory flask in the shape of a woman, an ivory mask, an ivory figurine, and four ivory bird's head attachments, an ivory bull figurine, a cylindrical ivory box carved in relief with animals, three complete and one fragmentary ivory lids, an ivory finial, two ivory spoons, four ivory sticks with attachments of pomegranates at one end, probably spindles, an ivory comb, a faience vase, a glass pilgrim's flask, a glass bowl, five small glass vessels, a footed stone bowl, two fragments of a stone bowls, a schematic clay figurine, two bronze pins, five scarabs, two glazed beads.

Within Room A were found a fairly large amount of pottery, two bone inlays, a faience plaque, a glass bowl, two alabaster dishes, a fragment of bronze, a perforated glass bead.

Within Room F were found a large amount of pottery, a piece of limestone with an incised design, a steatite spindle whorl.

¹⁶ Tufnell et al. 1940, 40-42.

Within Room E were found a large amount of pottery, a bone eye inlay for a composite statue, an ivory cat figurine, an ivory stick, an ivory peg from a spoon, a faience playing piece, the neck of a glass pilgrim's flask, two glass pendants, a glass bowl, fragments of glass vessels, a trachyte pestle, a piece of worked carnelian, a gold pendant, a gold pin, a scarab, two cylinder seals, an ostrich egg, a large quantity of beads.

3. TEL MEVORAKH Figs. 25, 26, 27.

Location and history of use. Tel Mevorakh is situated on the south bank of the Tanninim river, at the northern end of the Sharon plain and just north of Roman Caesarea.¹⁷ It is situated at an isolated site about two kilometres from the coast. At Tel Mevorakh, there were three successive temples, located at the site of a Middle Bronze Age fortress; the north wall of the temple was dug into the inner slope of the rampart. The first temple was constructed at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age, its successor in the early fourteenth century and the last temple probably in the early thirteenth century. The temples were surrounded on three sides by a stone-paved courtyard which was enclosed by a stone wall. On the north there was a narrow lime-covered passage running between the temple wall and the rampart.

A. STRATUM XI

Dimensions. 10.0 x 5.0 m.

Orientation of the entrance. 90°? east of north.

Orientation of the cult focus. 270° east of north.

Architecture. The temple of Stratum XI is the best preserved of the three temples.¹⁸ It is a rectangular one-roomed building. The entrance is not preserved, but must have been in the south/east corner of the building (either at the east end of the south wall or in the south part of the east wall). The cult focus could be identified with a platform located off-axis against the northern part of the west wall. At the east end of the platform four steps led to its upper surface; a fifth step at the bottom was a secondary addition. On the south side of the platform was a rectangular niche. The impression of a post was preserved south of the platform, next

¹⁷ Stern 1984, 1.

¹⁸ Stern 1984, 4.

to the steps.¹⁹ A second much lower platform lay to the south of the platform along the west wall and at the south end of this were two small square platforms. A stepped platform ran along the north wall as well as the east wall as far as excavated. The lower step of this platform was much narrower than the upper.²⁰ Part of a narrow platform was also uncovered along the destroyed southern wall. The floor, walls, and platforms were covered with white plaster. At a later stage, a central post seems to have been added to support the roof.²¹

Objects found. Finds consist of a large amount of pottery, mainly bowls, many of which were found stacked on the steps of the platform against the west wall.²² Other types include a pithos, two complete cooking pots as well as sherds, a clay lamp, goblets, chalices, jugs and juglets.²³ The lower part of a large storage jar was found embedded into the lower part of the cult focus.²⁴ A number of beads were found on the floor close to the cult focus.²⁵

B. STRATUM X

Dimensions. 10.0 x 5.0 m

Orientation of the entrance. 90⁰? east of north.

Orientation of the cult focus. 270⁰ east of north.

Architecture. The temple of Stratum X, made use of the outer walls of the temple of Stratum XI. The floor level is raised covering the lower step of the platforms. The cult focus, including the steps, was enlarged by being enclosed by a stone wall so that a square platform without steps was formed;²⁶ the upper surface is about thirty centimetres higher than the platform of the earlier temple. A room was added against the west wall, the entrance to which is from the temple and possibly also from the court.²⁷

¹⁹ Stern 1984, 4.

²⁰ Stern 1984, 5.

²¹ Stern 1984, 24.

²² Stern 1984, 12-13.

²³ Stern 1984, 13-15.

²⁴ Stern 1984, 15-16.

²⁵ Stern 1984, 26.

²⁶ Stern 1984, 6.

²⁷ Stern 1984, 7.

Objects found. As in the previous temple, a large amount of pottery, mainly bowls, was found within the temple; sherds from goblets, chalices, cooking pots, large jars, jugs, juglets as well as a pithos were also found.²⁸ On the cult focus were found seven bowls, three chalices, a krater, a jar, four clay lamps, two miniature cups (one calcite and one clay), three conical faience gaming pieces, two cylinder seals, two glass pendants, beads, a bronze curved knife, a dagger, two arrowheads, a bronze snake figurine, two bronze cymbals.²⁹ A tripod mortar made of limestone was found close to the platform in the west part of the temple.³⁰

C. STRATUM IX

Dimensions. ?

Orientation of the entrance. ?

Orientation of the cult focus. ?

Architecture. The temple of Stratum IX is very badly preserved; only the line of its north wall can be completely traced. It had the same east/west orientation as the previous temples.³¹ An inner partition wall running at right angles to the west wall divided the temple into two parts; the eastern end of this wall is not preserved, but the wall may have turned at right angles to form an enclosed space in the north west part of the temple. Nothing is known about the shape and location of the cult focus or the position of the entrance.³²

Objects found. No floor levels were preserved and consequently no finds can be attributed to the temple of Stratum IX.

4. TELL QASILE Figs. 28, 29.

Location and history of use. Tell Qasile is located within the present city limits of Tel Aviv just north of the Yarkon river, about two and a half kilometres from the coast. The ancient name of Tell Qasile is not known. The settlement was built on a slope facing west. At Tell Qasile there were three successive temples dating to the early Iron Age situated on the

²⁸ Stern 1984, 10-12.

²⁹ Stern 1984, 7.

³⁰ Stern 1984, 27.

³¹ Stern 1984, 28.

³² Stern 1984, 8.

highest point of the slope.³³ The settlement at Tell Qasile was a new foundation by the Philistines ca. 1150. The settlement does not belong to the earliest settlement of the Philistines in Palestine, but was part of the northwards expansion of the Philistines after their initial settlement in Palestine.³⁴ The first temple does not belong to the earliest level of the settlement but was built shortly afterwards. The temple of Stratum XI can be dated to ca. 1100 and the temple of Stratum X to ca. 1050. The first temple on the site (Temple 319, Stratum XII) was a small broadroom building with a slightly off-centre entrance. The cult focus was a platform located directly across from the entrance and there were additional platforms along the walls. The temple was located in a large open space. It does not have the irregular plan which characterises the two later temples and belongs to a different category. There was no obvious cause of destruction between Stratum XII and XI. The transition between Strata XI and X seems to have been gradual; there is no indication of destruction by fire. The settlement of Stratum X was destroyed by violent fire, possibly in connection with the conquest by the Israelites.³⁵

A. TEMPLE 200, STRATUM XI

Dimensions. 6.4 x 5.9 m.

Orientation of the entrance. 73° east of north.

Orientation of the cult focus. 249° east of north.

Architecture. Temple 200 is a rebuilding on a new plan of the first temple on the site; the orientation of the temple, however, as well as the arrangement of the courtyard to the east and north of the temple remains the same. Temple 200 is a small one-roomed building with an off-axis entrance in the north part of the east wall. The exact reconstruction of the cult focus is uncertain. Against the west wall approximately on the central axis of the room a wall jutted into the room. A second wall joined it at right angles, parallel to the back wall. Between these two walls and the back wall a small enclosed space was thus formed in the south west part of the room. The excavator has suggested that if these walls reached the ceiling, the cult focus may have been in the niche-like space formed by these walls and the north wall of the temple. Alternatively the walls may not really have been actual walls but rather the lower part of an L-shaped

³³ Mazar 1980, 96.

³⁴ Mazar 1985, 103-104; 119-120.

³⁵ Mazar 1980, 30-33; 1993B, 223.

platform functioning as the cult focus. The restoration of the cult focus as a platform seems preferable, both on analogy with the temples of Strata XII and X and with the other temples of this type, and because these walls have no actual foundations.³⁶ There were narrow platforms along all the walls.³⁷

Objects found. A large amount of pottery was found. Other finds include an anthropomorphic clay mask, an ivory bowl, beads, an alabaster pot found in the enclosed space behind the cult focus,³⁸ a clay bird's head possibly from a bowl with bird attachments,³⁹ a zoomorphic spout from a zoomorphic vessel or bowl with tubular rim similar to the one from Temple 131,⁴⁰ a triton shell, a bronze arrowhead, bones.⁴¹ Fragments from a clay lamp were found in the niche-like space across from the entrance.

B. TEMPLE 131, STRATUM X

Dimensions. Main room: 7.4 x 5.65 m; Entrance room: 3.57 x 5.85 m; Room 188: 1.35 x 3.2 m.

Orientation of the entrance. 342° east of north.

Orientation of the cult focus. 249° east of north.

Architecture. Temple 131 is relatively well-preserved because of the fire which destroyed the settlement of Stratum X.⁴² The building makes use of the walls of Temple 200 on three sides, but is enlarged to the east with the addition of an anteroom.⁴³ The orientation of the cult focus remains unchanged from the previous temple. The entrance from the outside into the anteroom was framed by pilasters.⁴⁴ From the anteroom into the main room there is a wide off-axis entrance. This entrance is very wide (3.3 m), so that it is also possible to see Temple 131 as a one-roomed building with a partial partition wall; it is also possible that the wall did not reach all the way to the ceiling.⁴⁵ The cult focus is a platform placed off-

³⁶ Mazar 1980, 23.

³⁷ Mazar 1980, 23.

³⁸ Mazar 1980, 23, 84.

³⁹ Mazar 1980, 113.

⁴⁰ Mazar 1980, 111.

⁴¹ Mazar 1980, 23.

⁴² Mazar 1980, 33.

⁴³ Mazar 1980, 33.

⁴⁴ Mazar 1980, 36-37.

⁴⁵ Mazar 1980, 37.

axis to the west opposite the entrance from the anteroom; two steps lead up to it from the south.⁴⁶ There were two posts located on the central axis of the temple.⁴⁷ Behind the platform there is a small enclosed space as in the previous temple but separated from the main room by a low partition wall (Room 188).⁴⁸ The floor of Room 188 was 0.15 m lower than the floor of the main room. There are stepped platforms along the walls adjoining the platform on its north side as well as along the walls of the anteroom. The arrangement of the courtyard is altered from the previous stratum. It is now surrounded by stone walls and divided into two separate courts, one in front of Temple 131, the other in front of Shrine 300.⁴⁹

Objects found. A large amount of pottery was found, much of it from Room 188 behind the cult focus including a large amount of bowls, jugs, juglets, flasks, a pomegranate-shaped vessel, a bowl with a tubular rim with two spouts in the form of bull's heads, fragments from three storage jars.⁵⁰ A small ivory bowl was also found in Room 188.⁵¹

In the main room were found small bowls, composite flasks, two pomegranate-shaped pottery vessels,⁵² a bird-shaped bowl,⁵³ a zoomorphic vessel, a composite libation vessel,⁵⁴ a large two-handled jar,⁵⁵ a moulded face on a pottery fragment from a large vessel.⁵⁶ A clay head of a horned animal may have been part of a large vessel.⁵⁷ Other finds include an iron bracelet⁵⁸ and an ivory rod.⁵⁹ In the area south of the cult focus were found a number of vessels, including two storage jars, two jugs, a krater, juglets, and several bowls turned upside down.⁶⁰ In the south west corner, near the cult focus was found a pottery plaque of an ar-

⁴⁶ Mazar 1980, 38.

⁴⁷ Mazar 1980, 37-38.

⁴⁸ Mazar 1980, 38.

⁴⁹ Mazar 1980, 40-42.

⁵⁰ Mazar 1980, 40, 106; 1985, 73.

⁵¹ Mazar 1985, 12-13.

⁵² Mazar 1980, 116-117.

⁵³ Mazar 1980, 96-97.

⁵⁴ Mazar 1980, 104-105.

⁵⁵ Mazar 1980, 105-106.

⁵⁶ Mazar 1980, 114.

⁵⁷ Mazar 1980, 113.

⁵⁸ Mazar 1985, 8-9.

⁵⁹ Mazar 1985, 13.

⁶⁰ Mazar 1980, 40.

chitectural facade in which two figures are standing.⁶¹ On the top step leading up to the cult focus was found a fragment of a tall fenestrated cylindrical stand with schematically rendered human figures.⁶² Another tall cylindrical stand with attached animals of uncertain identification was found near the platform along the south wall.⁶³ A bronze axe-adze was found on one of the steps leading up to the cult focus.⁶⁴

A large stone slab was found in the south/west corner of the anteroom on the upper level of the platform.⁶⁵ Two small flasks were found near the entrance to the anteroom and two fragments from bowls were found on the west platform.

C. SHRINE 300

Dimensions. 4.18 x 2.2 m; Entrance room: 4.2 x 1.85 m.

Orientation of the entrance. 336° east of north.

Orientation of the cult focus. 249° east of north.

Architecture. Shrine 300 was a small subsidiary shrine, abutting against the west wall of the temple. Shrine 300 continued in use throughout Strata XI-X. Owing to the slope of the bedrock, the floor level of Shrine 300 was 0.60-0.75 m lower than the floor level of Temple 200 and 1.4 m lower than that of Temple 131. Shrine 300 consists of two rooms. The entrance into both is bent-axis, located in the east part of the north wall. The main room had platforms along all the walls. A platform consisting of two steps of equal dimensions was located against the north part of the west wall and could be identified with the cult focus. Three small brick platforms (H 0.18) were located parallel to the platform along the south wall; it was suggested that they were pedestals for the cylindrical stands found near the stepped platform.⁶⁶

Objects found. The finds consist of pottery including goblets, jugs, chalices, lamps.⁶⁷ Against the stepped platform were found three tall fenestrated cylindrical stands, two of them supporting bird-shaped bowls.⁶⁸

⁶¹ Mazar 1980, 82-84.

⁶² Mazar 1980, 87-89.

⁶³ Mazar 1980, 39, 89-90.

⁶⁴ Mazar 1985, 3.

⁶⁵ Mazar 1980, 37.

⁶⁶ Mazar 1980, 27.

⁶⁷ Mazar 1980, 28.

⁶⁸ Mazar 1980, 27, 90-93, 97-98.

Other finds include a low cylindrical stand found on the platform against the north wall,⁶⁹ a bull's head spout from a vessel,⁷⁰ fragments of bird-shaped bowls.

In the anteroom were found a low cylindrical stand,⁷¹ a bowl similar to the ones found on the stand in the main room,⁷² and a large slab of unworked stone.

⁶⁹ Mazar 1980, 28, 96.

⁷⁰ Mazar 1980, 111.

⁷¹ Mazar 1980, 96.

⁷² Mazar 1980, 27.

CATALOGUE OF MYCENAEAN HOUSES USED AS EXAMPLES IN CHAPTER SIX

1. AYIOS KOSMAS

A. HOUSE S Fig. 30.

Dimensions. Main room: 9.55 x 5.8 m; Anteroom: 2.15 x 6.0 (?) m.

Orientation of the entrance. 305° east of north.

Date of construction. LH IIIC

Architecture. House S is badly preserved. The building seems to have consisted of two rooms on the same axis. Since much of the long walls were not preserved, it is also possible that there was an interior cross-wall which separated the main room from a back room. The north/east section of the cross-wall between the main room and the anteroom or porch was preserved indicating that the entrance into the main room from the anteroom was not exactly on the central axis. A stone base for a post which was found *in situ*, off the central axis and about two metres in front of the entrance to the main room indicates that an open porch with two columns *in antis* is the most plausible reconstruction.¹

B. HOUSE T Fig. 31

Dimensions. Main room: 7 x 4.6 m; anteroom: 2.0 x 4.6 m.

Orientation of the entrance. 180° east of north.

Date of Construction. LH IIIC

Architecture. House T consisted of a main room with an anteroom or open porch. The front part of the building is very badly preserved, but it has been reconstructed as having a symmetrical groundplan with an open porch and an on-axis entrance between the porch and the main room. The exact position, however, of the entrance to the main room is uncertain since the cross-wall is very partially preserved. A stone base for a post was found *in situ* on the major axis, about 3 metres from the rear wall. A

¹ Mylonas 1959, 52-53. Hiesel 1990, 39-40; Werner 1993, 83.

stone base was also found about two metres in front of the main room and off the central axis, suggesting the reconstruction of an open porch with two posts *in antis*.²

2. ELEUSIS

MEGARON B Fig. 32.

Dimensions. Main Room: 7.0 x 5.7 m; anteroom: 2.0 x 5.7 m.

Orientation of the entrance. 123° east of north.

Date of construction. LH II.

Architecture. Megaron B is situated on the east slope of the Eleusinian hill, and is oriented approximately east/west with the entrance at the east end. The west wall was not preserved, but its position could be determined with almost complete certainty from the evidence of the floor level of the main room and the slope of the rock. The north and south walls ended in well-constructed antae. The building consists of a main room and an open porch lying on the same axis. The floor of the main room is situated about thirty centimetres above the level of the porch, so they must have been connected by steps.³ Within the main room a stone column base was preserved on the main axis while another could be restored on the same axis.⁴ The central portion of the porch projects about two metres beyond the antae forming a terrace, ca. 3.4 m wide, in front of the building.⁵ On the south side of this terrace are preserved the remains of a stairway leading up to the porch from the court which was situated at a lower level owing to the slope of the hill; presumably there was a similar staircase also on the north side of the terrace.⁶ At a later date, probably in the LH IIIB period according to the excavators, three intercommunicating rooms (B1, B2, B3) were added on to the north. B1 could be entered from the terrace or from the court.⁷ These rooms are very badly preserved and their Bronze Age date has been doubted.⁸ Megaron B

² Mylonas 1959, 55-56; Hiesel 1990, 40-41; Werner 1993, 83.

³ Mylonas 1961, 35.

⁴ Mylonas 1961, 35.

⁵ Mylonas 1961, 36.

⁶ Mylonas Kourouniotis 1933, 274-276; Mylonas 1961, 34-36.

⁷ Mylonas Kourouniotis 1933, 277; Mylonas 1961, 37.

⁸ Darcque 1981, 599.

has been interpreted as being located in a court delimited by a peribolos wall.⁹

3. EUTRESIS

A. HOUSE B Fig. 33.

Dimensions. 5.0 x 5.0 m.

Orientation of the entrance. ?

Date of construction. LH I

Architecture. House B consisted of only one room. A somewhat irregularly-shaped stone platform, ca. 30 centimetres high, ran along the north and east walls. A rectangular hearth was located near the middle of the east wall, against the platform. The entrance into the house was not identified, but on account of the platform, it must have been in the west or south wall.¹⁰

B. HOUSE K Fig. 34.

Dimensions. Room I: 2.7 x ?; Room II: 5.1-5.8 x 4.0-4.4 m; Room III: 4.6 x 2.0-1.8 m.

Orientation of the entrance. 180° east of north.

Date of construction. LH III

Architecture. House K is badly preserved, but seems to have consisted of three rooms. It is uncertain whether Room I was an anteroom or an open porch. Since room I lies at a right-angle axis to the main axis of the house, the entrance from it into Room II is bent-axis. A stone base for a post was found *in situ* in Room II. It was raised somewhat above floor level and surrounded by small stones, and is situated to the south of the central axis. In the northwest corner of the room there is a stone platform, 1.2 x 2.0 m. Within Room III, a few stones and blackened earth indicated a fire-place. The northern wall of house K continues to the east indicating an additional room which may, however, have belonged to a separate house contiguous with House K.¹¹

⁹ Mylonas 1961, 36.

¹⁰ Goldman 1931, 65-66; Hiesel 1990, 14.

¹¹ Goldman 1931, 66-68; Hiesel 1990, 104-105.

C. HOUSE V Fig. 35.

Dimensions. Room I: 5.0 x ?; Room II: 6.1-6.5 x 6.0-7.4 m.

Orientation of the entrance. 0° east of north.

Date of construction. LH III

Architecture. House V is badly preserved and it is not completely certain where the main entrance was, but it seems likely that the entrance from the outside was into Room I. A circular hearth was located in room I. Rectangular cuttings, ca. 0.10 x 0.05 m had been made in the floor of Room I. Their purpose is uncertain but they may mark the position of a screening wall. The entrance into Room II was off-axis. Within Room II, a bedding of gravel which may have been the foundation for a platform was located by the east wall.¹²

4. KIRRHA

SECTEUR D Fig. 36.

Dimensions. Room a: 2.4 x 4.75 m; Room b: 4.2 x 4.75 m; Room c: 2.7 x 4.75 m; Room d: 4.5 x 4.75 m; 1.0 x 4.75 m; Room f: 8.5 x 2.3 m; Room g: 3.25 x 3.5 m.

Orientation of the entrance. Room a: 315° east of north; Room e 140° east of north; Room g: 315° east of north.

Date of construction. MH IIIB.

Architecture. The building consists of a series of small rooms lying on the same axis as well as two larger rooms lying on a roughly parallel axis. Originally the building consisted only of Rooms a, b, c, d, e. There is no intercommunication between Rooms b and c and it seems that the building consisted of two separate dwellings (Rooms a, b; Rooms c, d, e). The entrance into Room a from the outside is off-axis. The remains of ashes in Room b indicated a centrally located fireplace. Except for a short segment of wall directly in front of the entrance into Room d, Room e seems to have been almost completely open to the outside. In the LH I period, rooms g and f were added to the building on its eastern side. There was a separate entrance from the outside into Room g and there was no intercommunication between these rooms and the earlier part of the building. The entrance from the outside into Room g was off-axis in the northwestern corner.¹³

¹² Goldman 1931, 68; Hiesel 1990, 15.

¹³ Dor et al. 1960, 39-42; Hiesel 1990, 72.

5. KORAKOU

A. HOUSE H Fig. 37.

Dimensions. Porch: 1.5 x 4.6 m; Main room: 6.5 x 4.6 m; Back room: 4.25 x 4.65 m.

Orientation of the entrance. 265° east of north.

Date of construction. LH IIIB

Architecture. Two periods of construction are represented. Originally, the building seems to have consisted of a main room entered from an anteroom or open porch and a large room located behind the megaron. The anteroom is badly preserved and the entrance from it into the main room was not identified. A hearth, located somewhat to the east of the centre of the room was located in the main room. A square block of limestone (0.45 x 0.45 x 0.4 m) was found to the north/east of the hearth. At a later period the main room was divided by a cross-wall lying to the west of the hearth into two rooms. An additional hearth was built in the westernmost room. The eastern back wall of the house also dates to this second period of construction; an earlier wall was not identified but it is assumed that the later wall followed the line of the earlier wall. Two flat stones which may have been the bases for posts were found in the back room.¹⁴ House H was abandoned early in LH IIIC.¹⁵

B. HOUSE L Fig. 38

Dimensions. Porch: 1.35 x 5.09 m; Anteroom: 1.36-1.2 x 5.09 m; Main room 6.59 x 4.72-5.09 m; Back room: 3.6 x 4.85 m.

Orientation of the entrance. 180° east of north.

Date of construction. LH IIIB¹⁶

Architecture. There were two periods of use of House L. The building consisted of a large main room entered through a porch and anteroom as well as a large back room lying on the same axis. The walls of the porch ended in large antae blocks. Within the porch was a flat stone which may have been the base of a central post. The entrance into the anteroom was off-axis. In the southwestern corner of this room, there was a low rectangular stone platform (0.95 x 0.57 m). The wall between the anteroom and the main room was irregular in that the western portion was not con-

¹⁴ Blegen 1921, 91-93; Hiesel 1990, 48-49; Werner 1993, 95-96.

¹⁵ Rutter 1974, 349, 547.

¹⁶ Rutter 1974, 132, 546.

structed on the same line as the eastern. It is possible that this wall was added at a later stage and that in the original building one entered directly into the main room from the porch. The entrance into the main room was not aligned with the entrance from the porch into the anteroom. Within the main room, there was a centrally placed hearth, and two stone bases for posts located on the major axis of the room. In the second period of use a larger hearth was built over the earlier hearth. Since the later hearth extended over one of the bases, another base lying further to the north replaced it. The back room is not well preserved except for the eastern wall, but a very small segment of the north wall indicates the extent of this room.¹⁷ The house seems to have been abandoned sometime before the end of LH IIIB.¹⁸

C. HOUSE O Fig. 39.

Dimensions. Porch: 2.2 x 3.1 m; Anteroom: 1.5 x 3.1 m; Main room: 4.0 x 2.8 m.

Orientation of the entrance. 270° east of north.

Date of construction. LH IIIC

Architecture. House O is very much smaller than the other houses at Korakou, and it is possible that it was not an independent building, but part of a larger structure. House O consisted of three rooms lying on the same axis. The entrance from the porch into the anteroom could not be identified. The entrance from the anteroom into the main room was off-axis. There was a stone platform in the northwest corner of the main room (1.8 x 1.0 m).¹⁹ House O was abandoned early in LH IIIC.²⁰

D. HOUSE P Fig. 40.

Dimensions. Anteroom: 3.1 x 4.0 m; Main room: 8.1 x 8.2 m; Western back room: 5.8-6.1 x 4.0 m; Eastern back room: 6.15-6.75 x 3.85 m.

Orientation of the entrance. 180° east of north.

Date of construction. LH IIIC²¹

Architecture. House P consists of an anteroom and a main room lying on the same axis, as well as of two back room located next two each other

¹⁷ Blegen 1921, 80-83; Hiesel 1990, 49-50; Werner 1993, 94-95.

¹⁸ Rutter 1974, 132.

¹⁹ Blegen 1921, 93-94; Hiesel 1990, 51; Werner 1993, 96.

²⁰ Rutter 1974, 542.

²¹ Ruttter 1974, 313.

behind the main room. Both the back rooms could be entered directly from the main room. A room lying to the east of the main room, at a right-angle axis to it, may also have belonged to House P, but this room was not fully excavated. Another room, lying to the west and cutting into the southwestern corner of the building may have belonged to a different structure. There was also a narrow corridor between this room and the anteroom. The anteroom does not seem to have occupied the full breadth of the main room.²² The entrance from the outside into the anteroom is aligned with the entrance from the anteroom into the main room which is on the central axis of the main room. Within the main room, there was a large central hearth. To the north of the hearth and on the central axis, there was a rounded stone base, projecting 0.15 - 0.2 m above the ground. Flat stones which were probably bases for posts were also found within the room. Close to the north wall of the room, there was a stone platform (1.1 x 1.1 m). In the northwestern corner there were two narrow strips paved with pebbles and potsherds which may be the remains of the foundation for a platform running along the west and north walls. Both of the back rooms had central hearths. In the east room there was a paved area against the middle of the east wall and in the southwest corner of the room. A similar paved area was found in the west room in the southwest corner.²³ House P was abandoned in an advanced stage of LH IIIC.²⁴

6. KRISA

A. ENSEMBLE E Fig. 41.

Dimensions. Room a: 5.2 x 3.05 m; Room b: 7.7 x 4.5 m; Room c: 4.5 x 1.7 m.

Orientation of the entrance. Room c: 220° east of north; Room a: 124° east of north.

Date of construction. LH I

Architecture. Room a was built in LH I. It had a bent-axis entrance which was protected by a wall so that a short narrow corridor was formed leading into the room. No internal installations were recognised in Room a. In LH IIIC a large room b which was entered through an anteroom c were added on to the northwestern wall of Room a. The entrances into Rooms

²² The reconstruction of the southeastern corner of the main room is conjectural, but it does seem most likely that the eastern wall of the main room extended further to the south and that the northern wall of the anteroom was prolonged to join it.

²³ Blegen 1921, 83-89; Hiesel 1990, 88-89.

²⁴ Rutter 1974, 314, 546.

c and b seem to have been more or less on axis and aligned with each other. Within Room b two stone bases for posts were found located on either side of the main axis and to the north of the centre of the room. Possibly there may have been four posts arranged in a square.²⁵ There was no internal connection between Room a and Rooms b and c.

B. ENSEMBLE F Fig. 42.

Dimensions. Room g: 1.5 - 1.8 x 6.0 m; Room h: 10.2 x 5 m; Room i: 3.0 x 5.5 m; Room j: 2.5 - 1.5 x 5.5 m; Room k: 10 x 5.5 m; Room l: 3.0 - 3.5 x 5.5 m.

Orientation of the entrance. ?

Date of construction. LH I

Architecture. There were two phases of construction. Rooms g and h belong to the first phase dated to LH I. The building was entered from the south/west, perhaps through an anteroom or porch. A large number of sherds were found within Room g, which was identified as a storeroom. A narrow corridor of uncertain function ran along the southeastern and northeastern sides of Room h. The means of entrance between Rooms g and h was not identified. Two stone bases for posts were found within Room h, on the major axis. In the LH III period, the area of Room h was narrowed by the construction of a wall parallel to the original southeastern wall. At the same time a hearth was built in Room h. Also in the LH III period rooms i, j, k, l were built on the building to the northwest. Room i seems to have had an off-axis or bent-axis entrance opening on to a street. It is possible that there were entrances also into Rooms k and l from this street.²⁶

7. MALTHI

B. 33, 34, 36-38, 45 Fig. 43.

Dimensions. B 33: 2.4 x 1.0 - 1.5 m; B38: 3.8 x 3.8 m; B 34: 1.8 x 0.8 - 0.6 m; B36: 1.9 x 2.4 - 3.2 m; B45: 3.8 x 3.0 m; B37: 4.0 - 4.8 x 2.0 - 3.0.

Orientation of the entrance. 288° east of north

Date of construction. LH III

²⁵ Jannoray & van Effenterre 1937, 316.

²⁶ Jannoray & van Effenterre 1937, 318-320; Hiesel 1990, 73-74.

Architecture. The building consists of three larger and three smaller rooms arranged in an irregular plan. The entrance was off-axis from a court into B33. From B33 there were entrances into B38, B36, and B34. B38 also communicates with B37. B45 at the back of the house could be reached from both B37 and B38. In the north/east corner of B36 there was a hearth. Two pithoi were found near the south/east corner of B38.²⁷

8. MOURIATADHA Fig. 44.

Dimensions. Anteroom: 2.7 x 5.9 m; Main room: 7.3 x 5.9 m; Back Room: 2.7 x 5.9 m.

Orientation of the entrance. 150° east of north.

Date of construction. LH IIIB

Architecture. The building consists of three rooms situated on the same axis. The main room is entered through a porch or anteroom, and there is another smaller room behind the main room. The cross-wall between the main room and the back room is continued to the east which could suggest that the building contained additional rooms. Within the main rooms were found the stone bases of three posts and the remains of a stone platform against the back wall.²⁸

9. MYCENAE

A. WEST HOUSE Fig. 45.

Dimensions. Room a: 5.4 x 3.5 m; Room b: 3.8 x 3.6 m; court: 10.0 x 4.4 m.

Orientation of the entrance. 195° east of north.

Date of construction. LH IIIB

Architecture. The West House consisted of two sections, separated by a corridor. The eastern section consisted of a large room which was entered through an anteroom and a porch which opened on to a paved court. In the western section of the house, there were five rooms opening off the corridor. The entrance seems to have been from the south into the corridor. The rectangular courtyard was bounded by walls on the north, east, and south sides. On the west side there may have been a colonnade. The precise location of the entrances between the porch and the anteroom

²⁷ Valmin 1938, 183-184.

²⁸ Marinatos 1960A, 150-151; Hiesel 1990, 52; Werner 1993, 111.

and the anteroom and the main room is uncertain. A hearth was identified in Room 3 and Room 4 seems to have been a kitchen area. To the north of Room 5, there was a rectangular space which seems to have been an open area. It seems likely that the building comprised a second storey and the remains of a probable staircase were located in the northern part of the corridor.²⁹

B. PANAGIA HOUSE I Fig. 46.

Dimensions. Room 3: 4.1-4.2 x 5.25-5.9 m; Room 5: 5.4-5.45 x 4.6 m; Room 7: 3.3-3.4 x 4.2-4.6 m.

Orientation of the entrance. 180° east of north

Date of construction. LH IIIB

Architecture. Panagia House I consisted of an anteroom, a main room and a back room built on the same axis and opening on to a courtyard to the south. On a parallel axis to the east there was a narrow corridor which could be entered from the anteroom. Further rooms which lay to the east of the corridor have been damaged by later construction, and are only partially preserved. A small room, probably communicating with these rooms was situated to the east of the courtyard. It is possible that this room was a later addition to the house. The main entrance into the anteroom from the courtyard lay slightly to the west of the central axis and not aligned with the entrance from the anteroom into the main room. Within the main room there was a central hearth. The remains of a chimney pot within the main room indicate that this room at least had only one storey. The floor of the back room lay ca 0.3 m lower than the floor of the main room. Since there was no sign of any entrance in any of its walls, it must have been entered from an upper level. It seems probable that parts of the house had more than one storey. A wall constructed against the east wall of the back room may represent the foundation of a staircase in the northern part of the corridor. Panagia House I seems to have been destroyed by an earthquake before the end of LH IIIB.³⁰

²⁹ Verdelis 1959, 128-129; Tournavitou 1995B, 1-16; Shear 1969, 131-144.

³⁰ Shear 1987, 1-2, 16-24; Hiesel 1990, 121-122; Werner 1993, 97-98.

10. NICHORIA

A. UNIT IV-4 Fig. 47.

Dimensions. Room 1: 6.8 x 4.7 m; Room 2: 4.0 x 4.7 m; Room 3: 2.5 x 3.2 m; Room 4: 7.5 x 4.8 m.

Orientation of the entrance. 237° east of north

Date of construction. LH IIIA1

Architecture. Unit IV-4 was built over the debris of an earlier building. The rooms are arranged along two parallel axes. The original building consisted of Room 1. The anteroom, Room 2, as well as Rooms 3 and 4 were added later. The entrances to Rooms 2 and 1 are aligned with each other and are located on the major axis. Within Room 1, there was a hearth centrally placed, and on either side of it, on the major axis, there were two stone bases for posts. In the corner, between the southeastern and southwestern walls of the room, directly inside the door, there was a low stone platform, ca. 2.5 x 1.2 m. It seems possible that there may have been an upper storey above Rooms 3 and 4 and that the platform in Room 1 was the foundation for a staircase. A doorway in the northwestern wall of Room 3, leading in from the outside was later blocked. Unit IV-4 seems to have been destroyed at the end of LH IIIA1.³¹

B. UNIT IV-6 Fig. 48.

Dimensions. Room 1: 3.7 x 2.0 m; Room 2: 3.7 x 3.5 m; Room 3: 2.5 x 2.0-3.0 m; Room 4: 2.5 x 3.0 m.

Orientation of the entrance. 28° east of north

Date of construction. LH IIIA2

Architecture. The building seems initially to have consisted only of Room 2, while Rooms 3 and 4, originally one room, and Room 1 were added somewhat later in LH IIIA2. A crosswall with a doorway at its southern end dividing Rooms 3 and 4 into two rooms was constructed late in the same period or at the beginning of LH IIIB. The main entrance into the building was from a paved court to the north into Room 2. The entrance is off-axis. It is uncertain whether there was direct communication between Room 2 and Rooms 3 and 4. As it was not possible to excavate completely the western part of the building, there may have been a doorway in the western wall of Room 4 and a separate entrance into these rooms from the outside. It is probable that Rooms 3 and 4 were

³¹ Aschenbrenner et al. 1992, 433-439.

intended for storage and access into them may rather have been from an upper floor. Within Room 3 there was a platform built against the cross-wall between it and Room 4. In Room 4, against the same wall, a pithos had been sunk into the floor. The doorway which allowed communication between Rooms 3 and 4 was blocked probably shortly before the final destruction by fire of the building in LH IIIB.³²

11. PYLOS

WINE MAGAZINE Fig. 49.

Dimensions. Anteroom: 6.6 x 3.7 m; main room: 12 x 6.0 m.

Orientation of the entrance. 335⁰ east of north.

Date of construction. LH IIIB

Architecture. The Pylos Wine Magazine is laid out parallel to the steep northwestern edge of the acropolis. It diverges in orientation from the other principal buildings in the palace complex. The entrance into the building was bent-axis on the northwestern side near the western corner. The main room contained numerous pithoi.³³

12. TIRYNS

MEGARON W Fig. 50.

Dimensions. Northern room: 3.0 x 7.0 m; Main room: 11.0 x 7.0 m; Southern room: 4.5 x 7.0 m.

Orientation of the Entrance. ?

Date of construction. LH IIIC.

Architecture. The main entrance as well as the entrances between the rooms could not be determined. It is uncertain whether the main entrance was from the north or south. Within the main room, the bases of three posts on the main axis were found. The remains of a hearth was located in the area between the two southermost bases.³⁴

³² Aschenbrenner et al. 1992, 425-429.

³³ Blegen, Rawson 1966, 342-349.

³⁴ Gercke, Hiesel 1971, 11-15; Hiesel 1990, 63-64; Werner 1993, 101-102.

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CHART 1

| <i>Hypothesis</i> | <i>Pro</i> | <i>Contra</i> |
|---|--|--|
| 1. Palestinian temples with irregular plan and indirect access of Mycenaean derivation. | architectural similarities. Philistine temples at Tell Qasile can be compared to both the earlier Palestinian temples and to Mycenaean cult buildings. | relative dates. no definite Mycenaean traits in the architecture. Palestinian character of finds. no evidence for strong Mycenaean presence in Palestine. |
| 2. Mycenaean cult buildings of Palestinian derivation. | architectural similarities. metal figurines of Canaanite gods and other finds of Levantine provenance from the Mycenaean cult buildings. | general Mycenaean character of the finds. no evidence for Canaanites in the Aegean. similarities between Mycenaean domestic and sacred architecture. similarities with Temple at Ayia Irini. |
| 3. Mycenaean influence on Palestinian temples. | architectural similarities. | relative dates. no definite Mycenaean traits. no obvious reason for such influence. |
| 4. Palestinian influence on Mycenaean cult buildings. | architectural similarities. | no definite Palestinian traits. no obvious reason for such influence. |
| 5. Mycenaean origin of temples at Tell Qasile. | architectural similarities. Mycenaean elements in Philistine population. | close typological relationship with temples with irregular plan and indirect access. no close similarities in type of finds with Mycenaean cult buildings. finds show continuation of Canaanite and Egyptian traditions. |

Hypothesis

6. common architectural
tradition.

Pro

architectural similarities.

Contra

differing religious traditions.
not suggested by evidence
for nature and extent of
contact between the Aegean
and eastern Mediterranean.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE I

| | | |
|------|---|-------------------------|
| 1600 | | |
| 1550 | Beth Shan R3 Temple Lachish Fosse Temple I | Tel Mevorakh Stratum XI |
| 1500 | | |
| 1450 | | |
| 1400 | Lachish Fosse Temple II | Methana |
| 1350 | Tel Mevorakh Stratum X Phylakopi West Shrine | |
| 1300 | Lachish Fosse Temple III Tel Mevorakh Stratum IX | Kition Temples 2 & 3 |
| 1250 | Phylakopi East Shrine | Cult Centre at Mycenae |
| 1200 | Tiryns Room 117 | |
| 1150 | Tiryns Room 110 Tell Qasile Stratum XII | |
| 1100 | Tiryns Room 110a Tell Qasile Stratum XI | |
| 1050 | Tell Qasile Stratum X | |
| 1000 | | |

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE II

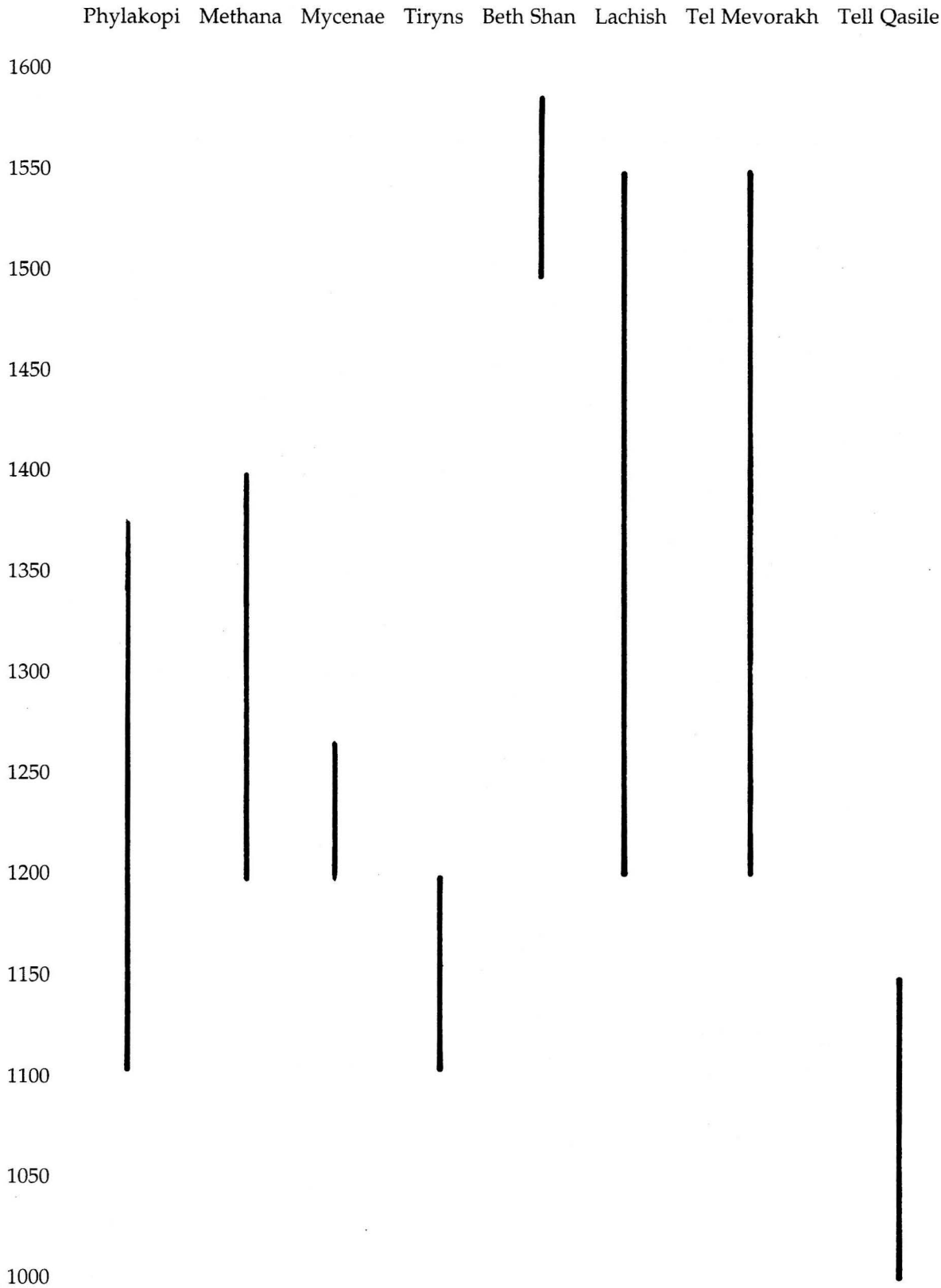


TABLE 1
MYCENAEAN CULT PLACES OF THE LATE BRONZE AGE

| Site | Date | Comment |
|---------------------------------|--------------|----------------------|
| Aphaia, Aigina | LH | Open air sanctuary ? |
| Oros, Aigina | LH IIIA/B | ? |
| Amyklai | LH IIIC | ? |
| Asine, House G | LH IIIC | Cult room? |
| Ayia Irini, Keos | MH-LH IIIC | Cult building |
| Ayia Triadha (Klenies) | LH III | Open air sanctuary |
| Delphi, Athena Pronaia | LH III | ? |
| Delphi, Area of Apollo Temple | LH III | ? |
| Kalapodi | LH IIIC | Open air sanctuary |
| Kynortion (Epidauros) | LH I-LH III | Open air sanctuary |
| Methana | LH IIIA1 (?) | Cult building |
| Midea | LH III | ? |
| Mycenae | LH IIIB | Palace megaron |
| Mycenae, Cult Centre | LH IIIB | Cult buildings |
| Phylakopi | LH III | Cult buildings |
| Phyle, Pan cave | LH | Cave |
| Profitis Elias (Ayios Adrianos) | LH IIIB | Cave |
| Pylos | LH IIIB | Palace megaron |
| Pylos, Room 93 | LH IIIB | Cult room, court |
| Tiryns | LH IIIB | Palace megaron |
| Tiryns, Unterburg | LH IIIC | Cult buildings |
| Tsougiza | LH IIIA2 | ? |

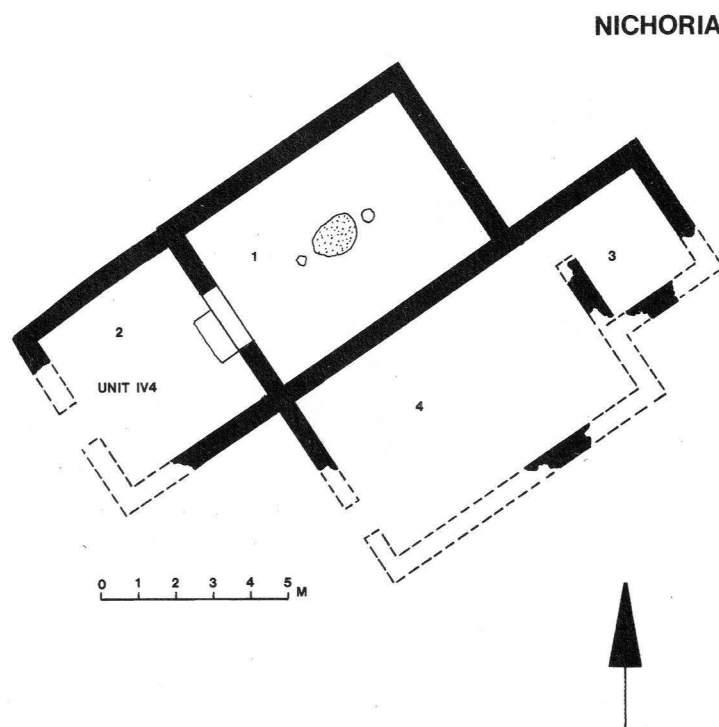


Fig. 47

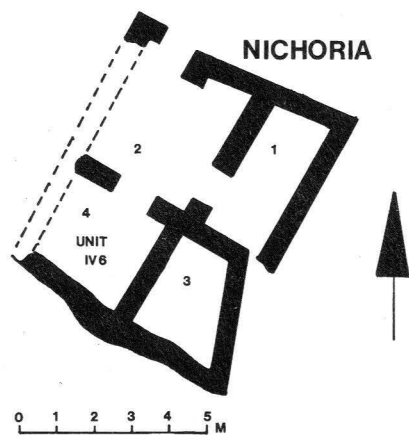


Fig. 48

TABLE 2
POSITION OF THE ENTRANCE IN MYCENAEAN CULT BUILDINGS

| | Axial | Off-axis | Bent-axis | Symmetrical plan |
|------------------------|-------|----------|-----------|------------------|
| PHYLAKOPI | | | | |
| West Shrine | x | | | x |
| East Shrine | | | x | |
| MYCENAE | | | | |
| Tsountas' House Shrine | x | | | x |
| Megaron | | x | x | |
| Temple | x | | | |
| Room with the Fresco | | | x | |
| TIRYNS | | | | |
| Room 119 | ? | ? | ? | |
| Room 117 | | x | | |
| Room 110 | x | | | x |
| Room 110a | x | | | x |
| PYLOS | | | | |
| Room 93 | x | | | x |
| ASINE | | | | |
| House G, Room XXXII | ? | ? | ? | |
| METHANA | | | | |
| The cult building | | x | | |

TABLE 3
NUMBER OF ROOMS IN MYCENAEAN CULT BUILDINGS

| | Anteroom | Subsidiary rooms |
|------------------------------|----------|------------------|
| PHYLAKOPI | | |
| West Shrine | | x |
| East Shrine | | |
| MYCENAE | | |
| Tsountas' House Shrine | | x |
| Megaron | x | |
| Temple | x | x |
| Room with the Fresco Complex | x | x |
| TIRYNS | | |
| Room 119 | | |
| Room 117 | | |
| Room 110 | | |
| Room 110a | | |
| PYLOS | | |
| Room 93 | | |
| ASINE | | |
| House G, Room XXXII | ? | ? |
| METHANA | | |
| The cult building | | 3? |

TABLE 4
FIXED INTERIOR INSTALLATIONS OF MYCENAEAN CULT BUILDINGS

| | Posts | Platform against short wall | Platforms along side walls | Central platform | Hearth | Staircase |
|------------------------|-------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|--------|-----------|
| PHYLAKOPI | | | | | | |
| West Shrine | ? | x | x | ? | | |
| East Shrine | | x | | | | |
| METHANA | | | | | | |
| The cult building | | x | x | x | x | |
| MYCENAE | | | | | | |
| Tsountas' House Shrine | | x | x | x | | |
| Megaron | | | | | x | |
| Temple | x | x | | x | | x |
| Room with the Fresco | | x | | x | ? | |
| TIRYNS | | | | | | |
| Room 119 | | | | x | | |
| Room 117 | x | x | | | | |
| Room 110 | | x | | | | |
| Room 110a | | x | | | | |
| PYLOS | | | | | | |
| Room 93 | | | | | | |
| ASINE | | | | | | |
| House G, Room XXXII | x | x | | | | |

TABLE 5
OVERVIEW OF FINDS FROM THE MYCENAEAN SANCTUARIES
COMMON TO AT LEAST TWO CULT BUILDINGS

| Type of Object | PHYLAKOPI | | MYCENAE | | | TIRYNS | | | METHANA | ASINE |
|-------------------------|-------------|-------------|------------------------|--------|------------------------------|----------|----------|-----------|---------------|--------------------|
| | West Shrine | East Shrine | Tsountas' House Shrine | Temple | Room with the Fresco Complex | Room 117 | Room 110 | Room 110a | Cult Building | House G Room XXXII |
| Pottery (all types) | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Drinking vessel | x | x | | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Cooking ware | x | x | | | x | | | | x | |
| Multiple vase | x | | | | | | | | | x |
| Miniature vessel | x | x | x | | | x | | x | | |
| Rhyton | x | | | | | x | | | x | |
| Human clay figure | x | ? | | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Human clay figurine | x | x | x | x | | x | x | | | x |
| Animal clay figure | x | x | | x | | | x | x | x | |
| Animal clay figurine | x | x | | | | | x | | | |
| Driven ox clay figure | | x | | | | | | | x | |
| Chariot model | x | x | | | | | | | x | |
| Portable offering table | ? | | | x | | | | | | |
| Stone vase | x | x | | | x | | | | | |
| Stone tools | x | x | | x | x | | | | x | x |

| | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Spindle whorl, loomweight | x | x | | | x | | |
| Lamp, brazier | x | | | x | | | |
| Beads, shells, jewellery | x | x | | x | x | x | x |
| Triton Shell | x | x | | | | | x |
| Sealstone | x | x | x | x | | | |
| Scarab | | | x | x | | | |
| Ivory | x | x | x | x | x | | |

TABLE 6
PALESTINIAN TEMPLES OF THE LATE BRONZE
AND EARLY IRON AGES

| Temple | Date | Symmetrical plan | Indirect access | Anteroom | Subsidiary rooms | Posts | Platforms against the walls | Cult Focus |
|--------------------------------|------|---------------------|-----------------|----------|---------------------|-------|-----------------------------------|----------------|
| Beth Shan Stratum R3 | 16c | | x | x | x | | x | platform |
| Beth Shan Stratum VII | 13 c | | x | x | x | x | x | platform |
| Beth Shan Stratum VI | 12c | | x | x | x | x | x | platform |
| Beth Shan Stratum V S* | 11c | | | | x | x | | ? |
| Beth Shan Stratum V N* | 11c | | x | | | x | | ? |
| Hazor Area A | 16c | x | | | | | | platform |
| Hazor Area H Stratum XIV (1B) | 14c | x | | x | | x | | niche |
| Hazor Area H Stratum XIII (1A) | 13c | x | | | | | x | niche/platform |
| Hazor Area C Stratum XIV | 14c | x | | | | | x | niche |
| Hazor Area C Stratum XIII | 13c | x | | | | | x | niche/platform |
| Lachish Area P | 13c | x | ? | x | x | x | | ? |
| Lachish Fosse Temple I | 16c | | x | | x | x | x | platform |
| Lachish Fosse Temple II | 15c | | x | x | x | x | x | platform |
| Lachish Fosse Temple III | 13c | | x | x | x | x | x | platform |

* Stratum Upper VI

| | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|----------|
| Megiddo 2048 Stratum VIII | 14c | x | | x | | x | | niche |
| Megiddo 2048 Stratum VIIB | | x | | | | | | platform |
| Shechem | 16c | x | | x | | x | | ? |
| Tell Abu Hawam Building 50 | 13c | | ? | x | | x | | ? |
| Tell Abu Hawam Building 30 | 11c | | ? | | | x | | ? |
| Tel Mevorakh Stratum XI | 16c | | x | | | x | x | platform |
| Tel Mevorakh Stratum X | 14c | | x | | x | x | x | platform |
| Tel Mevorakh Stratum IX | 13c | | | | | | | |
| Tell Qasile Temple 319 | 12c | x | | | | | x | platform |
| Tell Qasile Temple 200 | 11c | | x | | x | x | x | platform |
| Tell Qasile Temple 131 | 10c | | x | x | x | x | x | platform |
| Tell Qasile Shrine 300 | 11c | | x | | | | x | platform |

TABLE 7
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ENTRANCE AND CULT FOCUS
IN PALESTINIAN TEMPLES WITH IRREGULAR PLAN
AND INDIRECT ACCESS

| Temple | Entrance | Cult focus | Posts |
|------------------------|--------------------|---|-----------------------|
| Beth Shan Stratum R3 | bent-axis | off-axis, at a right-angle axis to the axis of the entrance | |
| Fosse Temple I | bent-axis (2) | centrally placed | two on major axis |
| Fosse Temple II | off-axis | centrally placed | four centrally placed |
| Fosse Temple III | off-axis | centrally placed | four centrally placed |
| Tel Mevorakh XI | bent-axis/off-axis | off-axis, diagonally across from entrance | |
| Tel Mevorakh X | bent-axis/off-axis | off-axis, diagonally across from entrance | one on major axis |
| Tel Mevorakh IX | uncertain | uncertain | |
| Tell Qasile Temple 200 | off-axis | off-axis, directly across from entrance | |
| Tell Qasile Temple 131 | bent-axis | off-axis | two on major axis |
| Tell Qasile Shrine 300 | bent-axis | off-axis, diagonally across from entrance | |

TABLE 8
OBJECTS OF FOREIGN (NON-AEGEAN) PROVENANCE
ASSOCIATED WITH MYCENAEAN SANCTUARIES

| Object | Phylakopi | Mycenae |
|--------------------|--|--|
| Scarab | street and courtyard possibly made in Syria-Palestine 1475-1150 | 1) Room 19 Egypt cartouche of queen Tiye (14 c) 2) Room Gamma Egypt cartouche of queen Tiye |
| Bronze figurine | 1) east of the East Shrine Syro-Palestinian 14-13c 2) debris associaed with abandonment Syro-Palestinian 15-13c | |
| Amethyst bead | West Shrine Egypt | |
| Ostrich egg rhyton | East Shrine Africa | Megaron, Room II fragment Africa |
| Faience plaque | | Room 31 Egypt 14c |
| Glass plaque | | Room Gamma Mesopotamia 16 - 13c |
| Glass pendant | | Room Gamma Mesopotamia 16 - 13c |
| Ivory head | | Room 31 Syrian |

TABLE 9
DIMENSIONS OF THE MAIN ROOM IN MYCENAEAN
AND PALESTINIAN CULT BUILDINGS

| | Length x width(m) | Area (m ²) |
|-------------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|
| Tiryns Room 110 | 3.2 x 1.4 | 4.48 |
| Tiryns Room 110a | 3.6 x 1.4 | 5.08 |
| Tiryns Room 117 | 2.6 x 2.0 | 5.2 |
| Tell Qasile Shrine 300 | 4.18 x 2.2 | 9.19 |
| Pylos Room 93 | 3.1 x 3.4 | 10.54 |
| Phylakopi East Shrine | 4.8 x 2.2 | 10.56 |
| Methana, Room A | 4.35 x 2.65 | 11.52 |
| Mycenae, Room 31 | 5.3 x 3.5 | 18.55 |
| Mycenae Room 18 | 5.1 x 4.2 | 21.42 |
| Asine Room XXXII | 7.1 x 4.0 | 28.4 |
| Mycenae Room Gamma 1 | 6.45 x 4.5 | 29.02 |
| Phylakopi West Shrine | 6.0 x 5.8 | 34.8 |
| Tell Qasile Temple 200 | 6.4 x 5.9 | 37.76 |
| Tell Qasile Temple 131 | 7.4 x 5.65 | 41.81 |
| Lachish Fosse Temple I | 9.8 x 5.0 | 49.0 |
| Tel Mevorakh Strata IX, X | 10.0 x 5.0 | 50.0 |
| Mycenae Megaron Room 2 | 10.5 x 5.0 | 52.5 |
| Lachish Fosse Temples II, III | 10.2 x 10.6 | 108.12 |

TABLE 10
DIMENSIONS OF THE CULT FOCUS IN MYCENAEAN
AND PALESTINIAN CULT BUILDINGS

| Cult building | length x depth x height (m) | Comments |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|---|
| Lachish Fosse Temple I | 3.0 x 0.6 x 0.3 | rectangular with three frontal projections |
| Lachish Fosse Temple II | 3.5 x 0.65 x 0.25 | narrow platform with a square central projection |
| Lachish Fosse Temple III | 2.5 x 2.25 x 0.60 | approximately square, recessed into back wall, frontal projection with three steps |
| Tel Mevorakh Stratum XI | 2.0 x 1.5 x 0.6 | rectangular with five steps leading to the upper surface |
| Tel Mevorakh Stratum X | 3.0 x 2.4 x 0.8 | approximately square |
| Tell Qasile Temple 200 | 2.85 x 1.12 x ? | L-shaped |
| Tell Qasile Temple 131 | 1.3 x 1.12 x 0.9 | approximately square, two steps leading to upper surface |
| Tell Qasile Shrine 300 | 1.0 x 0.84 x 0.40-0.53 | two steps of equal dimensions |
| Phylakopi East Shrine | 1.2 x 0.9 x 0.2-0.3 | low platform |
| Phylakopi West Shrine SW bench | 1.0 x 0.8 x 0.64 | approximately square |
| Phylakopi West Shrine NW bench | 1.1 x 1.2 x 0.85 | approximately square |
| Phylakopi West Shrine NE bench | 0.75 x 0.75 x 0.90 | square |
| Methana | 0.6 x 0.6 x 0.7 | stepped platform |
| Mycenae Room 18 | ca. 3.2 x 0.4 x 1.3 | in all six sections varying sizes and heights; greatest height 1.03; height of other sections not ascertainable |
| Mycenae Room 31 | 0.8 x 1.1 x 0.65 | approximately square with a lower section with curving edge attached (H 10 cm) |
| Tiryns Room 117 | * x* x 0.56 | rectangular platform with two low frontal projections at either end |
| Tiryns Room 110 | * | rectangular platform |
| Tiryns Room 110a | * | rectangular platform |

* information not available in the publication of the building.

TABLE 11
FEATURES FOUND IN BOTH MYCENAEAN AND
PALESTINIAN CULT BUILDINGS

| | Asymmetrical entrance | Anteroom | Subsidiary rooms | Posts | Platforms against the walls |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------|----------|---------------------|-------|-----------------------------------|
| Beth Shan Stratum R3 | x | x | x | | x |
| Tell Qasile XI | x | | x | | x |
| Tell Qasile X | x | x | x | x | x |
| Tel Mevorakh XI | x | | | x | x |
| Tel Mevorakh X | x | | | x | x |
| Lachish Fosse Temple I | x | | x | x | x |
| Lachish Fosse Temple II | x | x | x | x | x |
| Lachish Fosse Temple III | x | x | x | x | x |
| Phylakopi West Shrine | | | x | ? | x |
| Phylakopi East Shrine | x | | | | |
| Methana Cult Building | x | | x | | x |
| Mycenae Tsountas' House Shrine | | | x | | x |
| Mycenae Temple | | x | x | x | |
| Mycenae Room with the Fresco | x | x | x | | |
| Tiryns Room 117 | x | | | x | |
| Tiryns Room 110 | | | | | |
| Tiryns Room 110a | | | | | |
| Asine House G Room XXXII | ? | ? | ? | x | |

TABLE 12
FEATURES UNIQUE TO EITHER
MYCENAEAN OR PALESTINIAN
CULT BUILDINGS

| | Temenos bounded by wall | Staircase | Central Platform | Baetyl | Offering pit |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------|------------------|--------|--------------|
| Tel Mevorakh | x | | | | ? |
| Lachish Fosse Temple I | | | | | x |
| Lachish Fosse Temple II | | | | | x |
| Lachish Fosse Temple III | | | | | x |
| Tell Qasile Temple 200 | | | | | x |
| Tell Qasile Temple 131 | x | | | | |
| Methana Cult Building | | | x | | |
| Mycenae Temple | | x | x | | |
| Mycenae Tsountas' House Shrine | | | x | | |
| Mycenae Room with the Fresco | | | x | | |
| Phylakopi West Shrine | | | | x | |

TABLE 13
DIMENSIONS OF THE MAIN ROOM IN MYCENAEAN HOUSES

| Building | Length x width (m) | Area (m ²) | Proportions |
|---|--------------------|------------------------|-------------|
| Ayios Kosmas House S | 9.6 x 5.8 | 55.68 | 1.6:1 |
| Ayios Kosmas House T | 7.0 x 4.8 | 33.6 | 1.4:1 |
| Eutresis House B | 5.0 x 5.0 | 25.0 | 1:1 |
| Eutresis House V | 6.2 x 6.2 | 38.44 | 1:1 |
| Eutresis House M | 3.2 x 3.3 | 10.56 | 1:1 |
| Eutresis House K | 5.45 x 4.2 | 22.89 | 1.3:1 |
| Kirra Secteur C Room A | 4.7 x 3.0 | 14.1 | 1.6:1 |
| Kirra Secteur D Room b | 4.2 x 5.5 | 23.1 | 0.7:1 |
| Kirra Secteur D Room d | 4.5 x 4.7 | 21.5 | 0.9:1 |
| Korakou House B | 3.9 x 1.5 | 5.85 | 2.6:1 |
| Korakou House L | 6.59 x 4.84 | 31.89 | 1.3:1 |
| Korakou House O | 4.0 x 2.8 | 11.2 | 1.4:1 |
| Korakou House P | 8.1 x 8.2 | 66.42 | 1:1 |
| Korakou House H | 6.5 x 4.6 | 29.9 | 1.4:1 |
| Korakou House M | 7.75 x 5.5 | 42.62 | 1.4:1 |
| Korakou House F | 6.2 x 3.3 | 20.46 | 1.9:1 |
| Krisa Ensemble E Room a | 5.0 x 3.0 | 15.0 | 1.7:1 |
| Krisa Ensemble E Room b | 7.7 x 4.5 | 34.65 | 1.7:1 |
| Krisa Ensemble G Room q | 7.6 x 4.4 | 33.44 | 1.7:1 |
| Krisa Ensemble F Room k | 10.2 x 5.6 | 57.12 | 1.8:1 |
| Malthi B85 | 5.4 x 4.0 | 21.6 | 1.3:1 |
| Mouriatadha "Temple" | 7.6 x 5.8 | 44.08 | 1.3:1 |
| Mycenae Ramp House Room 40 | 6.8 x 4.3 | 29.24 | 1.6:1 |
| Mycenae South House Room 55 | 8.2 x 4.7 | 38.54 | 1.7:1 |
| Mycenae Building B Room 2 | 6.0 x 3.0 | 18.0 | 2:1 |
| Mycenae Panagia House I Room 5 | 5.2 x 4.4 | 22.88 | 1.2:1 |
| Mycenae House of the Warrior Vase Room 48 | 5.4 x 4.0 | 21.6 | 1.3:1 |
| Mycenae Tsountas' House Room c | 4.4 x 3.4 | 14.96 | 1.3:1 |

| | | | |
|------------------------|------------|-------|-------|
| Mycenae M House Room 4 | 5.4 x 5.0 | 27.0 | 1.1:1 |
| Nichoria Unit IV 4 | 6.8 x 4.6 | 31.28 | 1.5:1 |
| Pylos Wine Magazine | 11.8 x 6.0 | 70.8 | 2:1 |
| Tiryns Room 97 | 4.2 x 5.0 | 21.0 | 0.8:1 |
| Tiryns Room 127 | 12.0 x 6.0 | 72.0 | 2:1 |
| Tiryns House O | 5.0 x 3.0 | 15.0 | 1.7:1 |
| Tiryns Megaron W | 11.0 x 7.0 | 77.0 | 1.6:1 |
| Tiryns Bau V Room 90 | 4.8 x 3.4 | 16.32 | 1.4:1 |

TABLE 14
FIXED INTERIOR INSTALLATIONS OF MYCENAEAN HOUSES

| | Platforms | Posts | Hearth |
|------------------------------|-----------|-------|--------|
| Mycenae Panagia House I | | | x |
| Mycenae Panagia House II | x | x | x |
| Mycenae Panagia House III | x | | |
| Mycenae West House | x | x | x |
| Mycenae House of the Shields | x | | |
| Korakou House L | x | x | x |
| Korakou House H | | x | x |
| Korakou House O | x | | |
| Korakou House M | | x | x |
| Korakou House P | x | x | x |
| Mouriatadha "Temple" | x | x | |
| Nichoria Unit IV-4 | x | x | x |
| Ayios Kosmas House S | | x | |
| Ayios Kosmas House T | | x | |
| Eutresis House B | x | | x |
| Eutresis House V | | | x |
| Eutresis House K | x | x | |
| Kirra Secteur D | | | x |
| Krisa Ensemble E | | x | |
| Krisa Ensemble F | | x | x |

TABLE 15
LM III SANCTUARIES ON CRETE ASSOCIATED WITH THE
GODDESS WITH UPRAISED ARMS

| Site | Goddess figure(s) | Snake tube(s) | Independent building |
|---------------------------|-------------------|---------------|----------------------|
| Gazi | x | x | ? |
| Gournia | x | x | x |
| Ayia Triadha Building H | | x | x |
| Iouktas | x | | x |
| Kannia | x | x | |
| KARPHI | | | |
| Room 1 | x | | x |
| Rooms 16-17 | x | x | |
| Room 58 | | x | |
| Room 116 | x | | |
| | | | |
| Katsamba | | x | |
| Kavousi | x | x | x |
| Kephala Khondrou | | x | |
| KNOSSOS | | | |
| Shrine of the Double Axes | x | | |
| Unexplored Mansion | x | | |
| | | | |
| Kommos | | x | |
| Koumasa | | x | x |
| Prinias | x | x | |

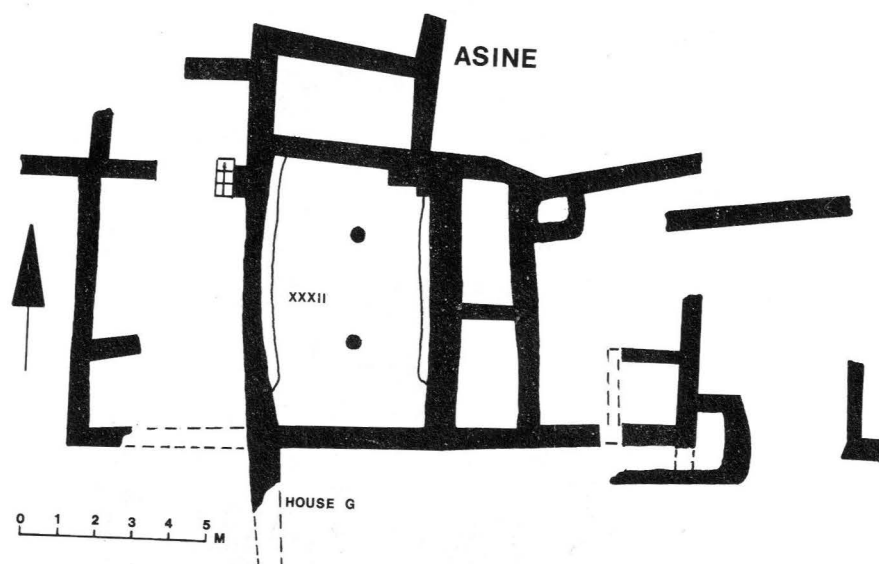


Fig. 1

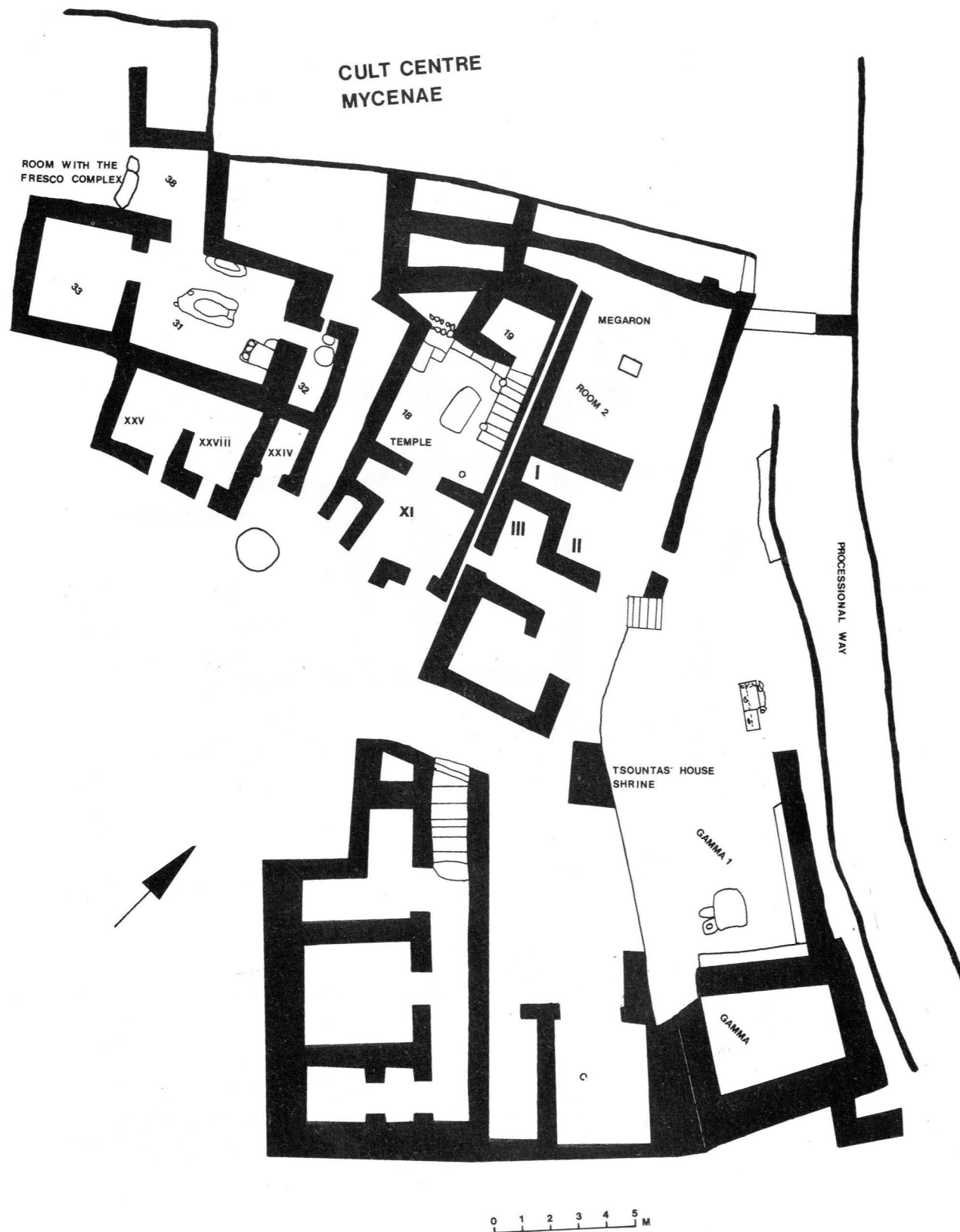


Fig. 2

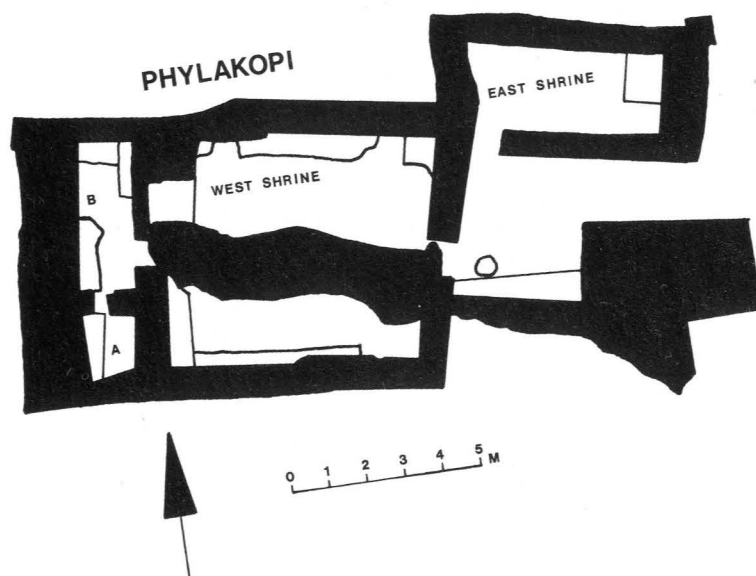


Fig. 3

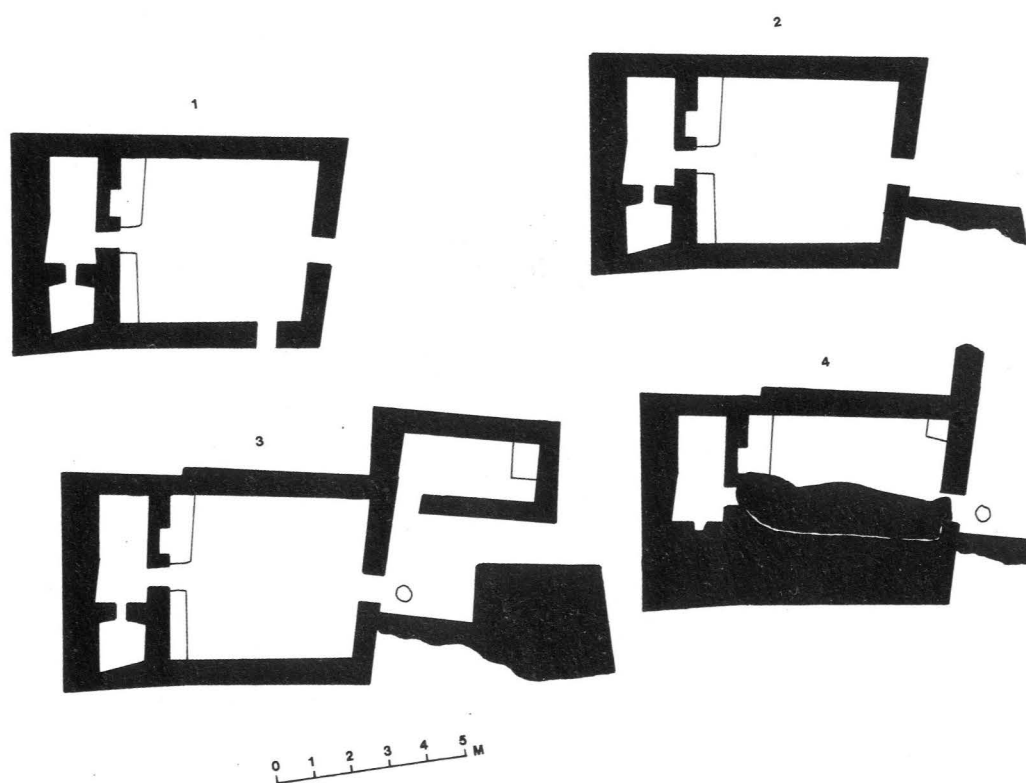


Fig. 4

NORTH EAST INSULA
PYLOS

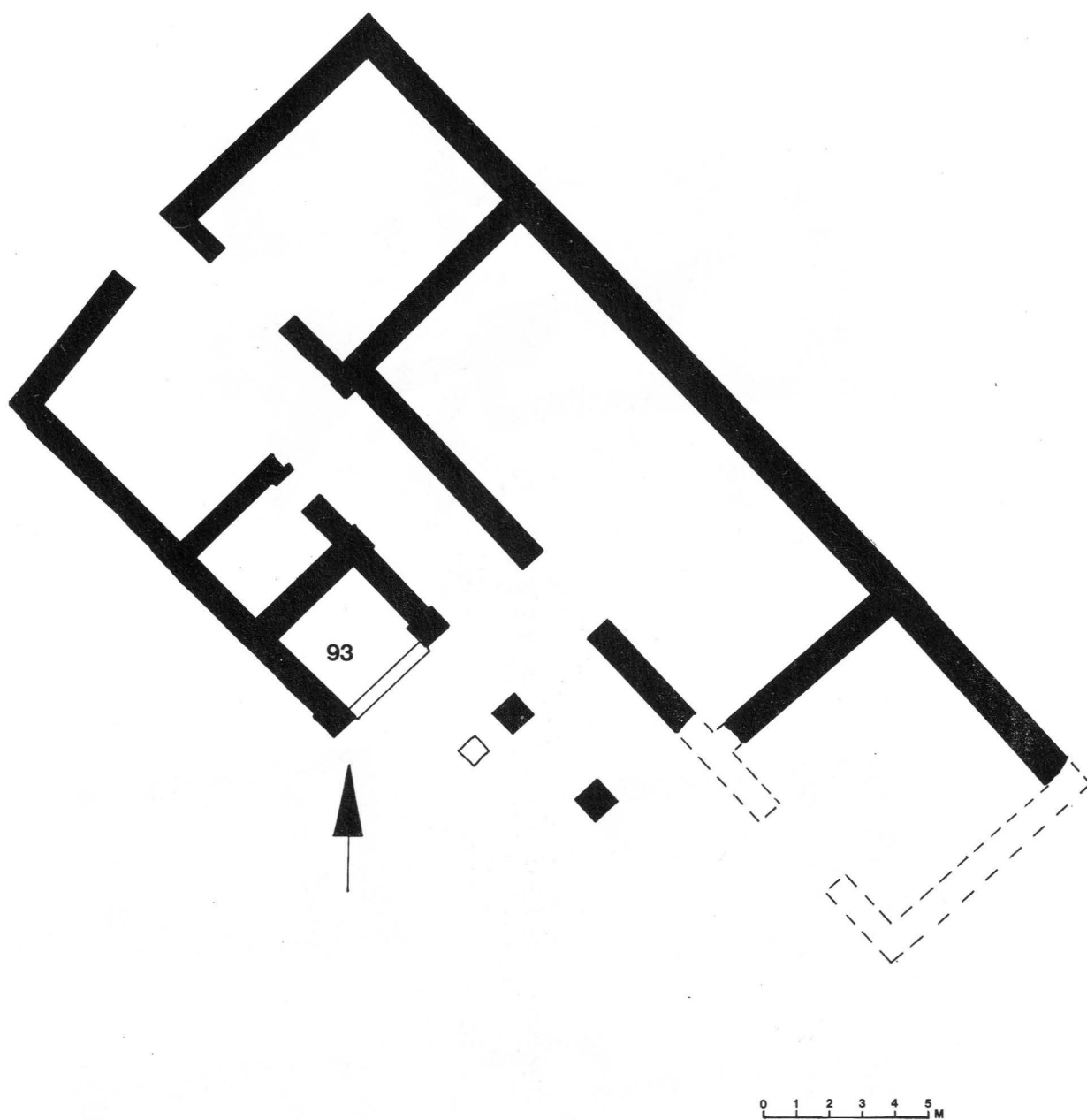


Fig. 5

UNTERBURG
TIRYNS

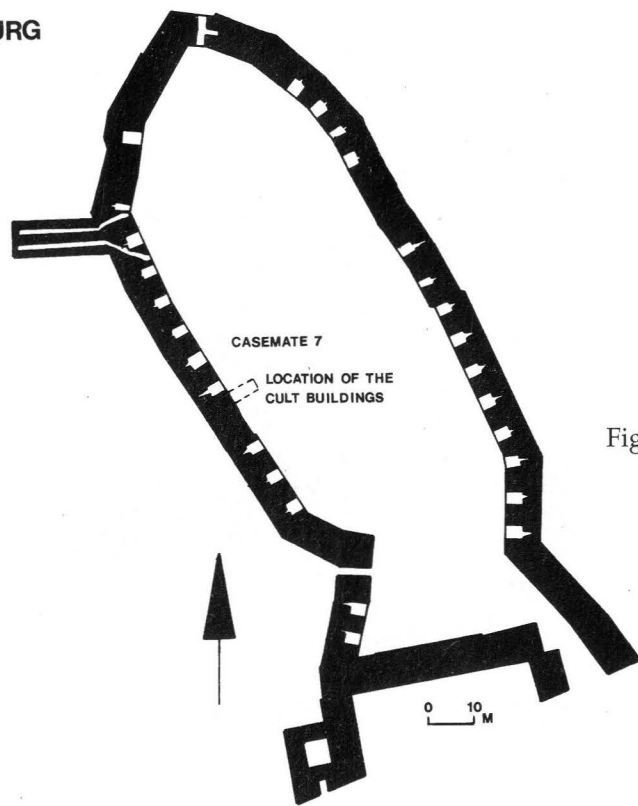


Fig. 6

ROOM 117



Fig. 7

ROOM 110



Fig. 8

ROOM 110A

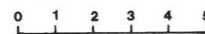


Fig. 9

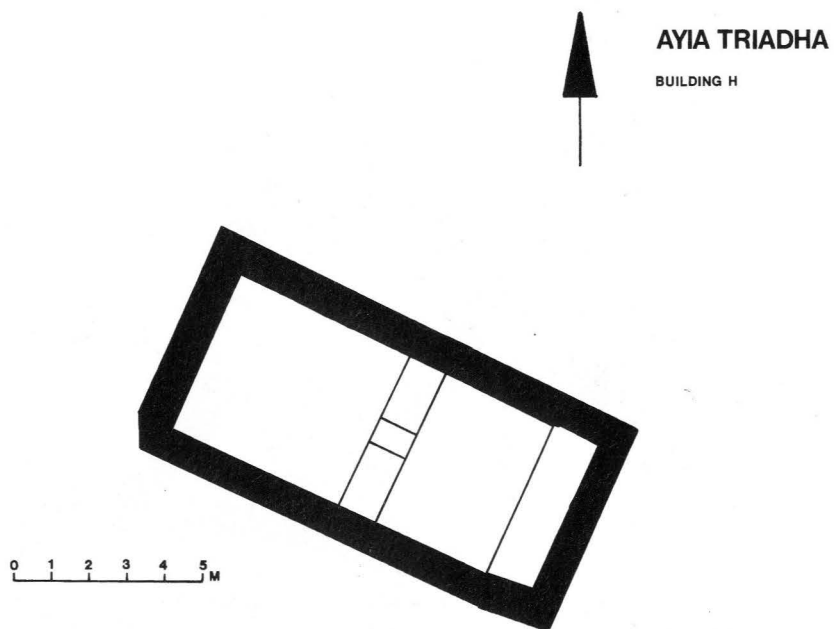


Fig. 10

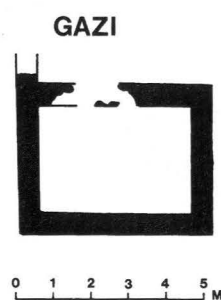


Fig. 11

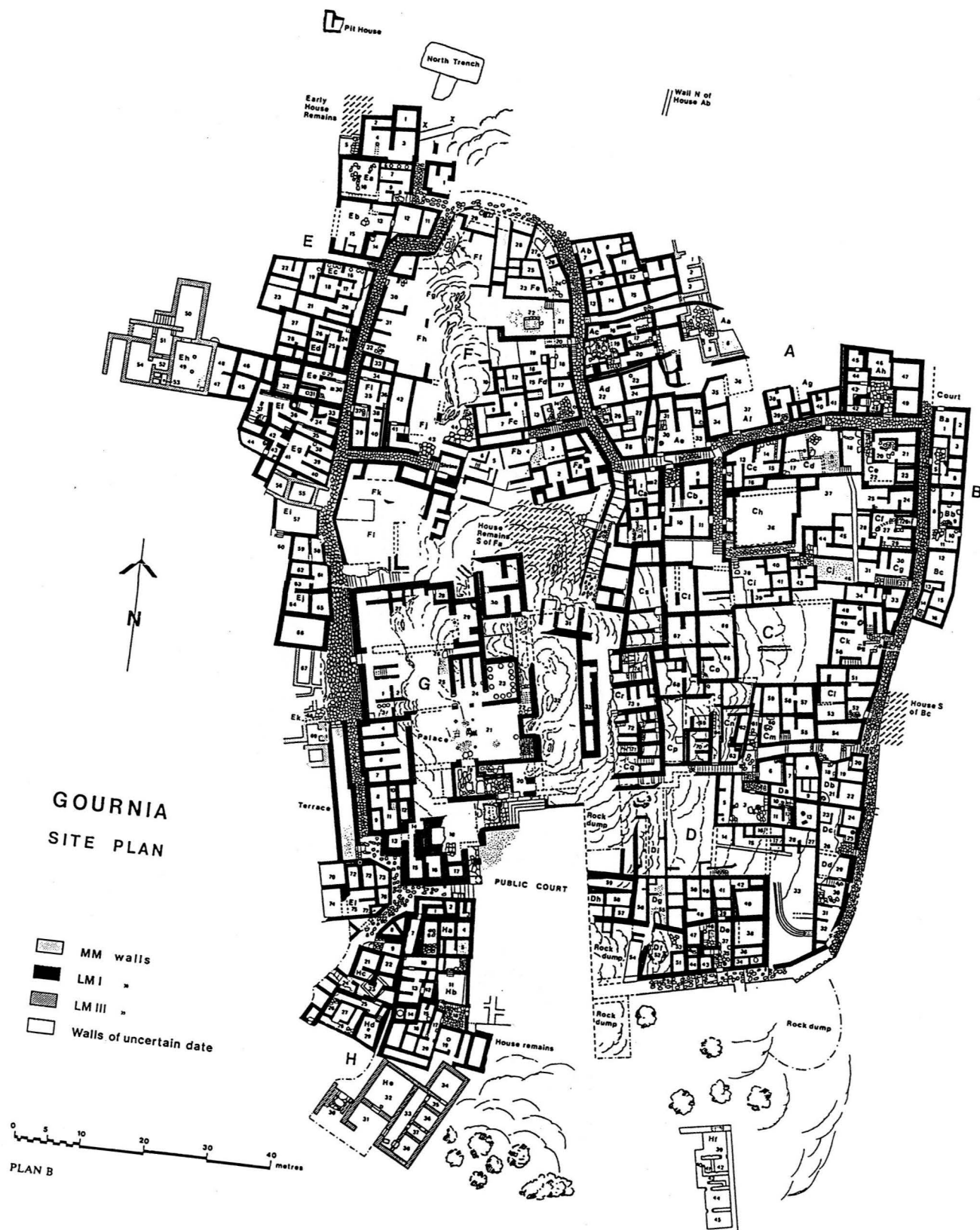


Fig. 12

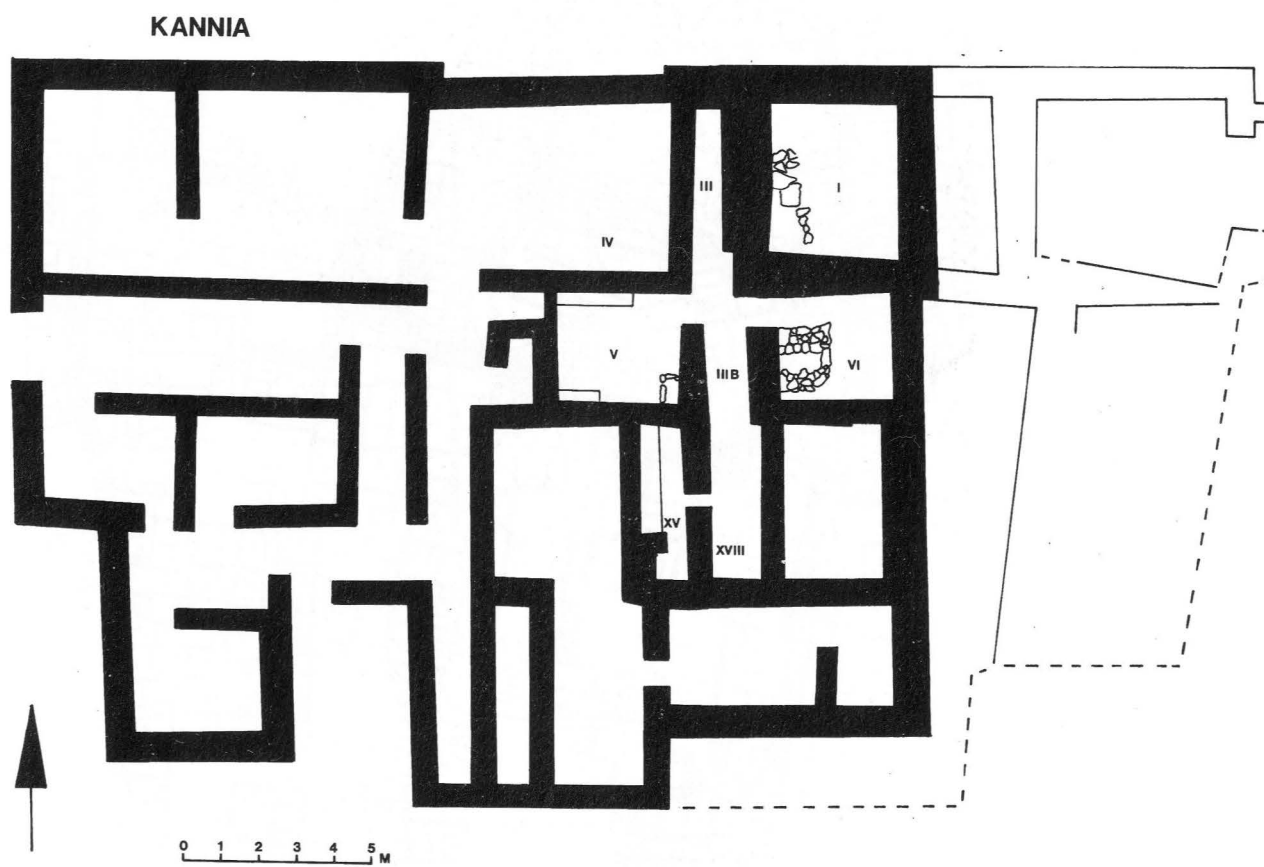


Fig. 13

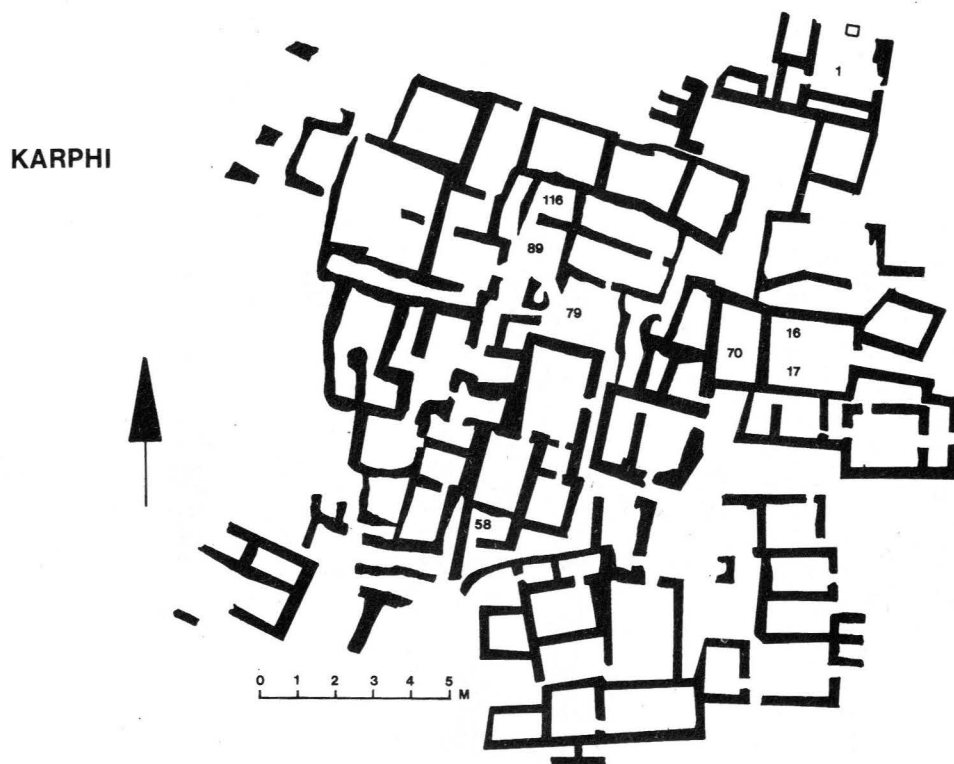


Fig. 14

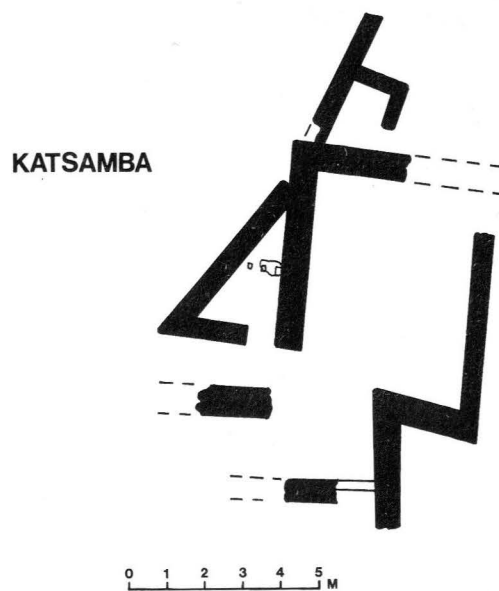


Fig. 15

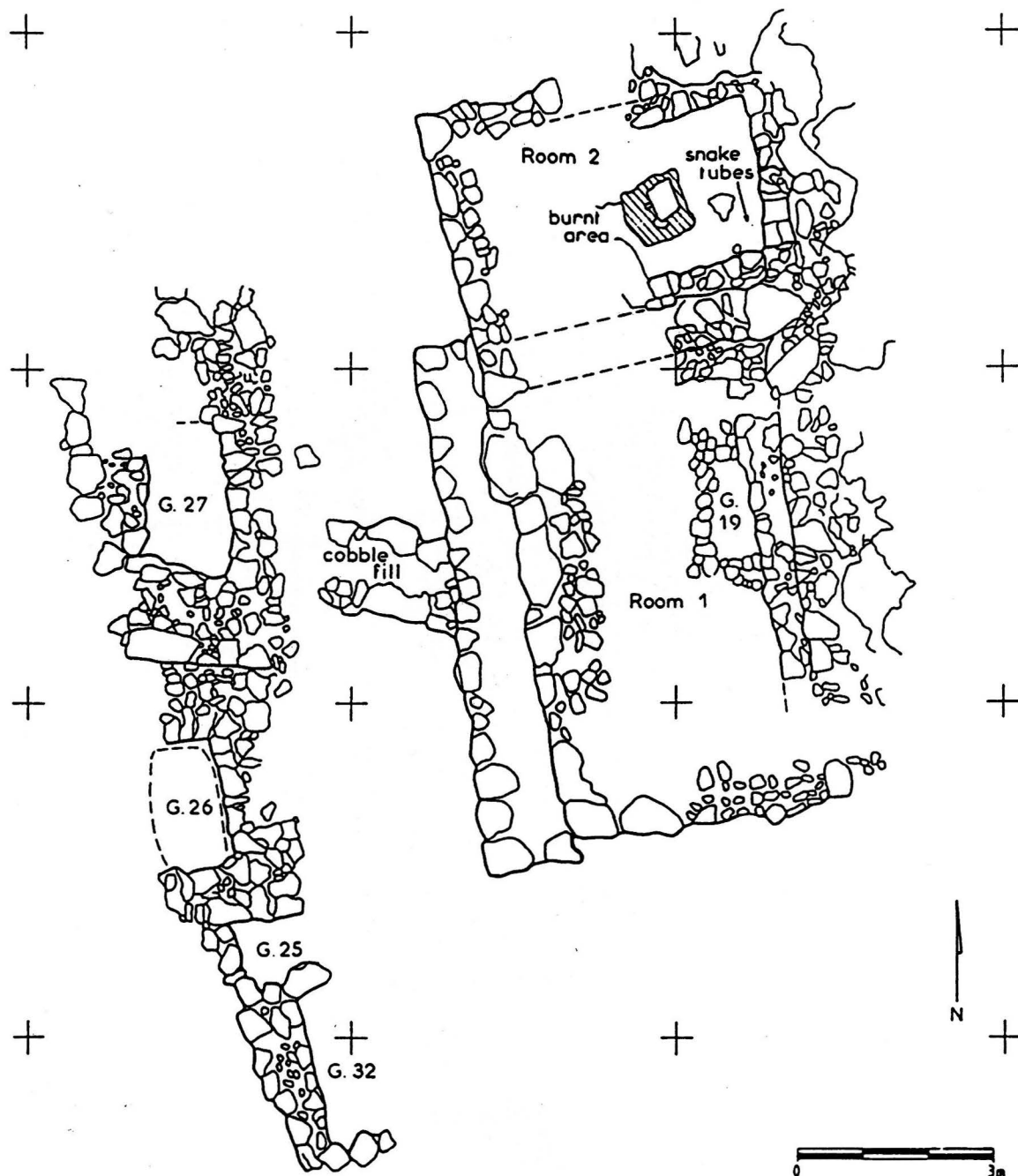


Fig. 16

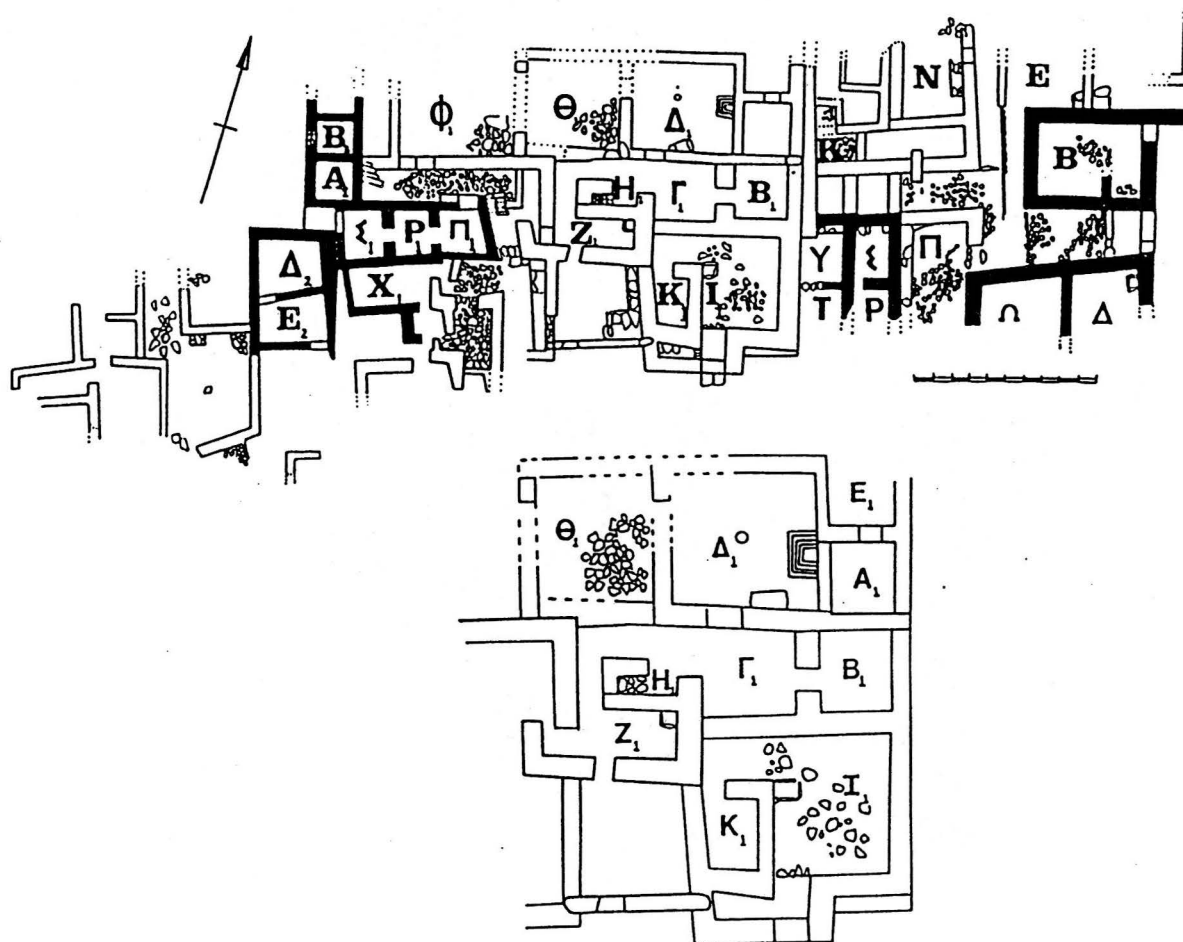


Fig. 17

KNOSSOS

x SHRINE OF
THE DOUBLE
AXES

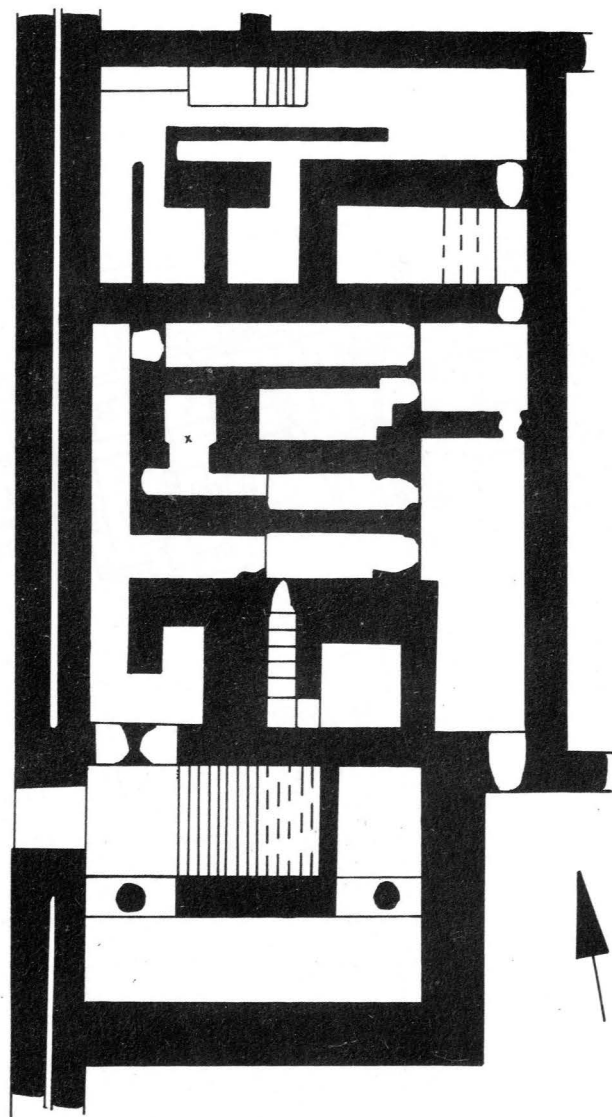


Fig. 18

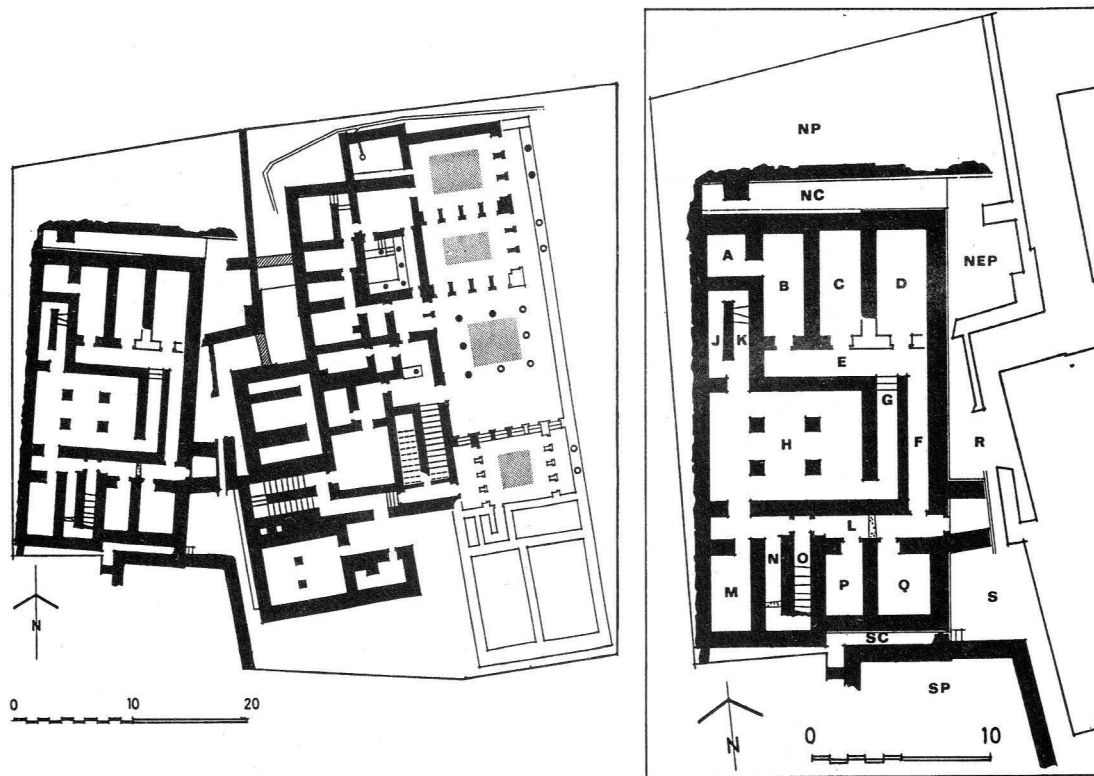
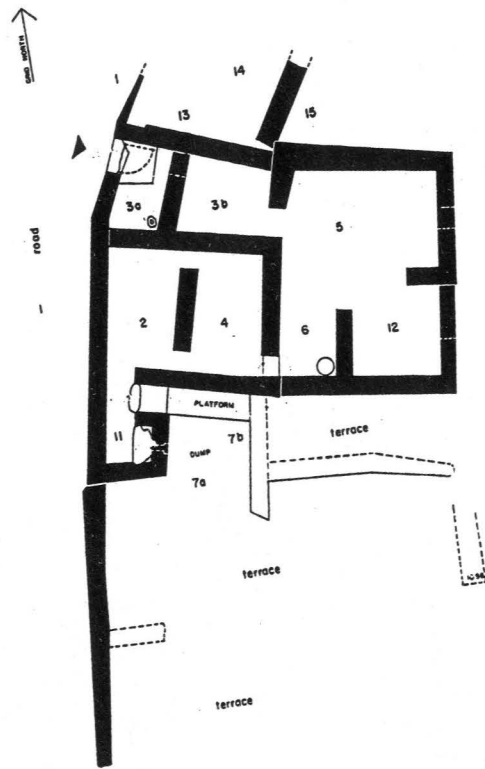
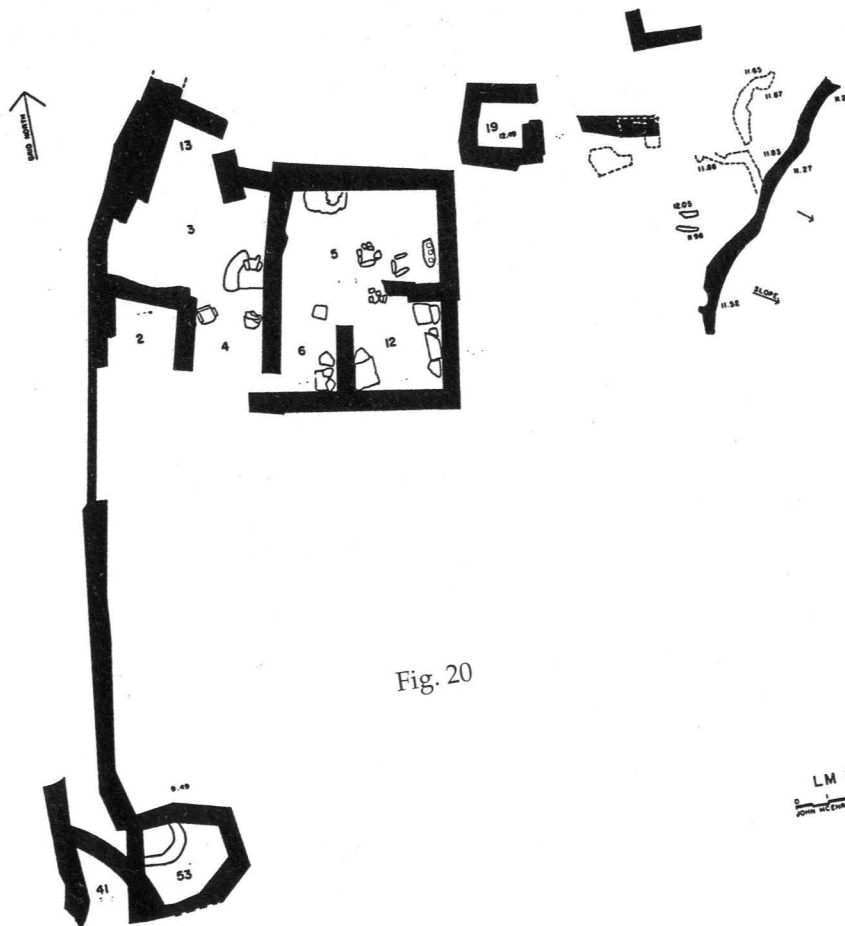


Fig. 19

KOMMOS



LM I-II PERIOD
JOHN MCCOMBS - GAILLEA BANCÉ 1995



LM III B PERIOD
JOHN MCCOMBS - GAILLEA BANCÉ 1995

Fig. 20

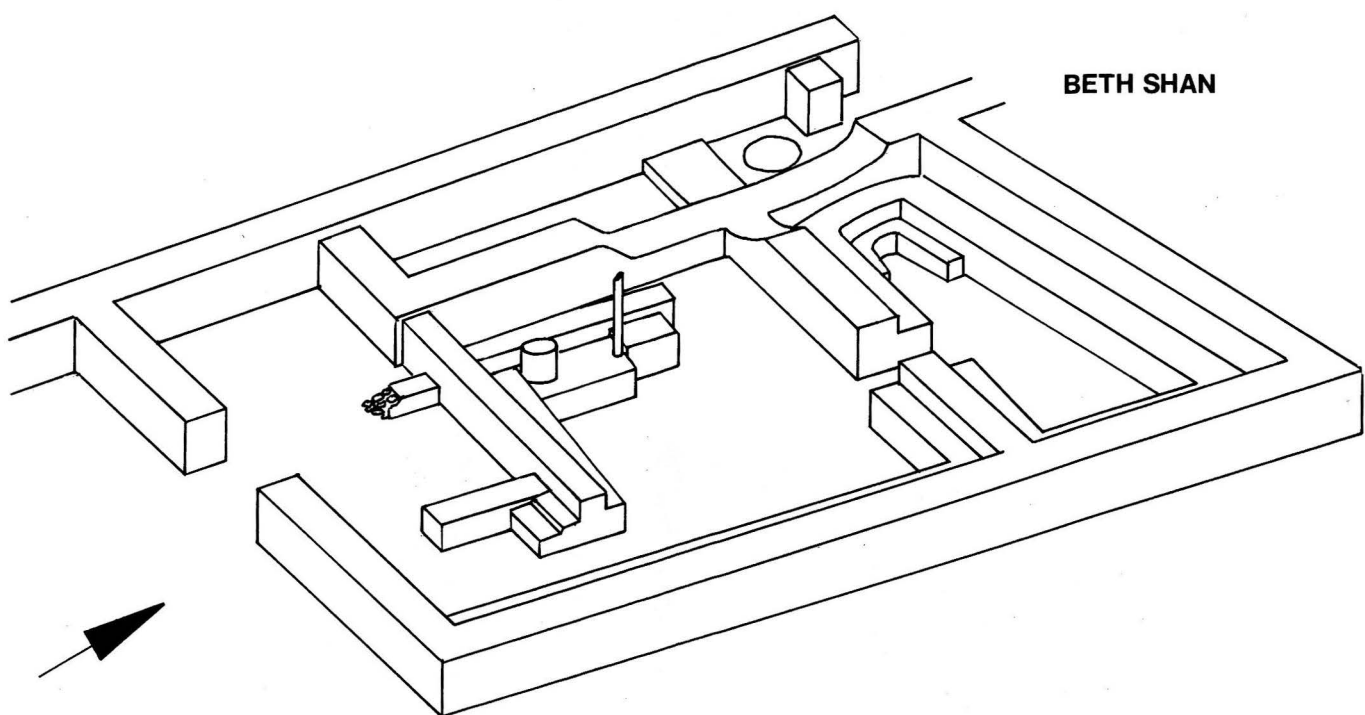


Fig. 21

LACHISH
FOSSE TEMPLE I

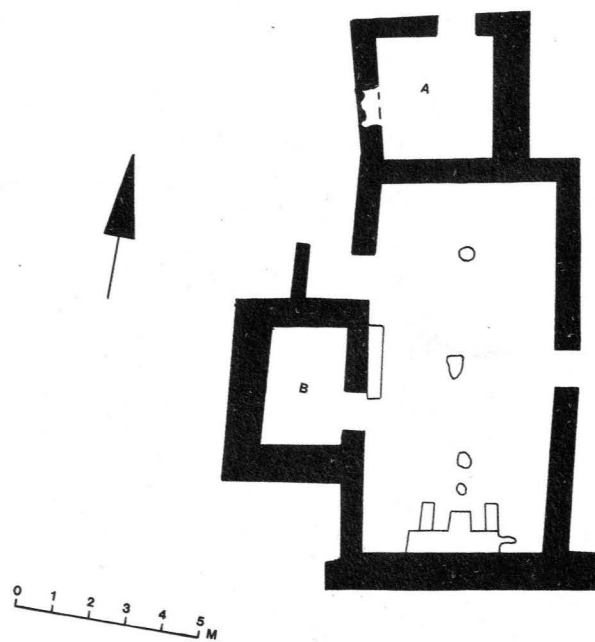


Fig. 22

LACHISH

FOSSE TEMPLE II

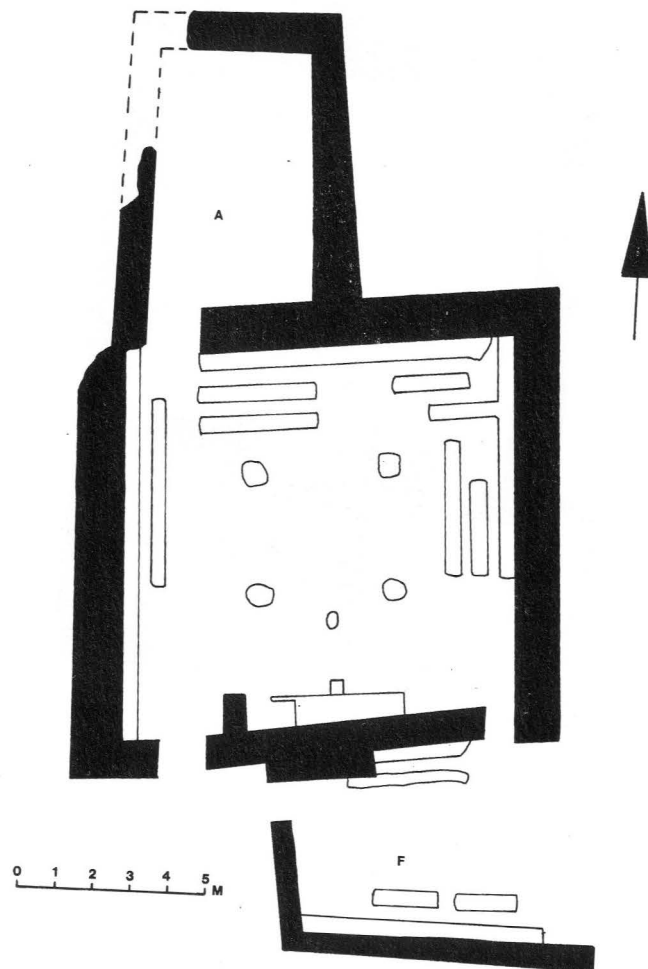
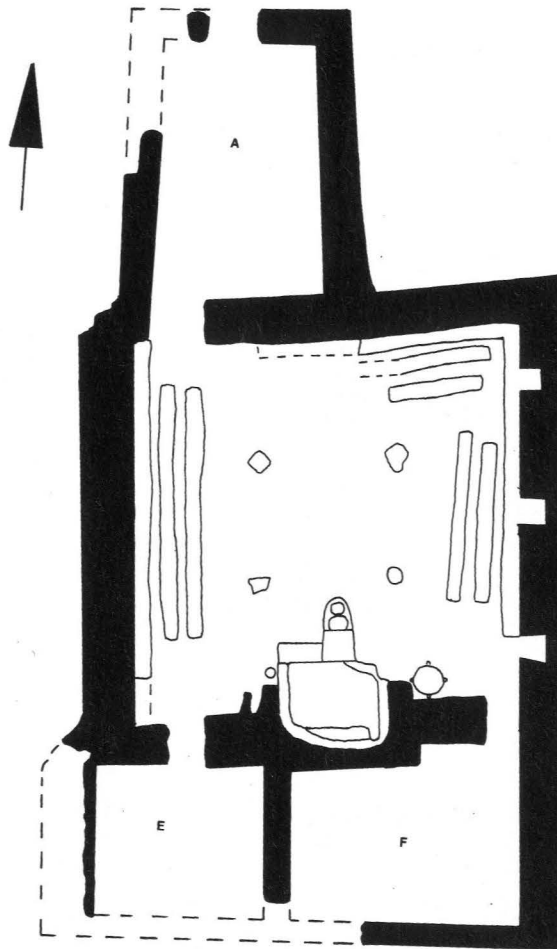


Fig. 23

LACHISH
FOSSE TEMPLE III



0 1 2 3 4 5 M

Fig. 24

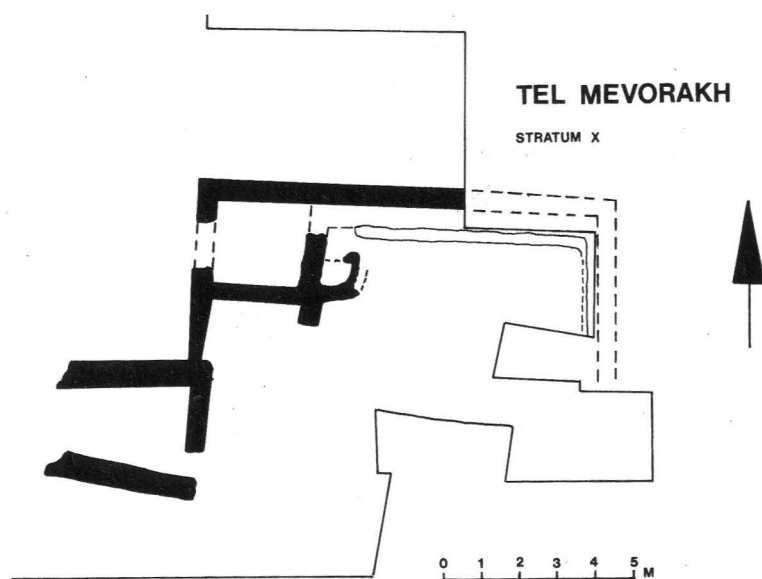
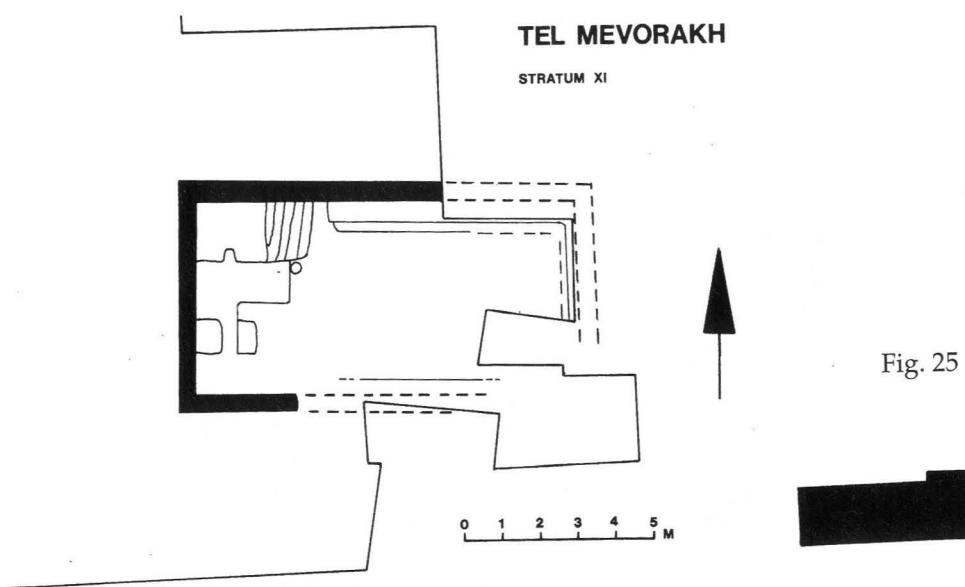


Fig. 26

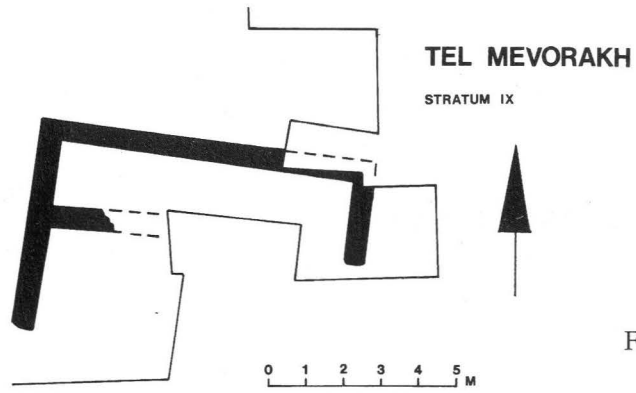


Fig. 27

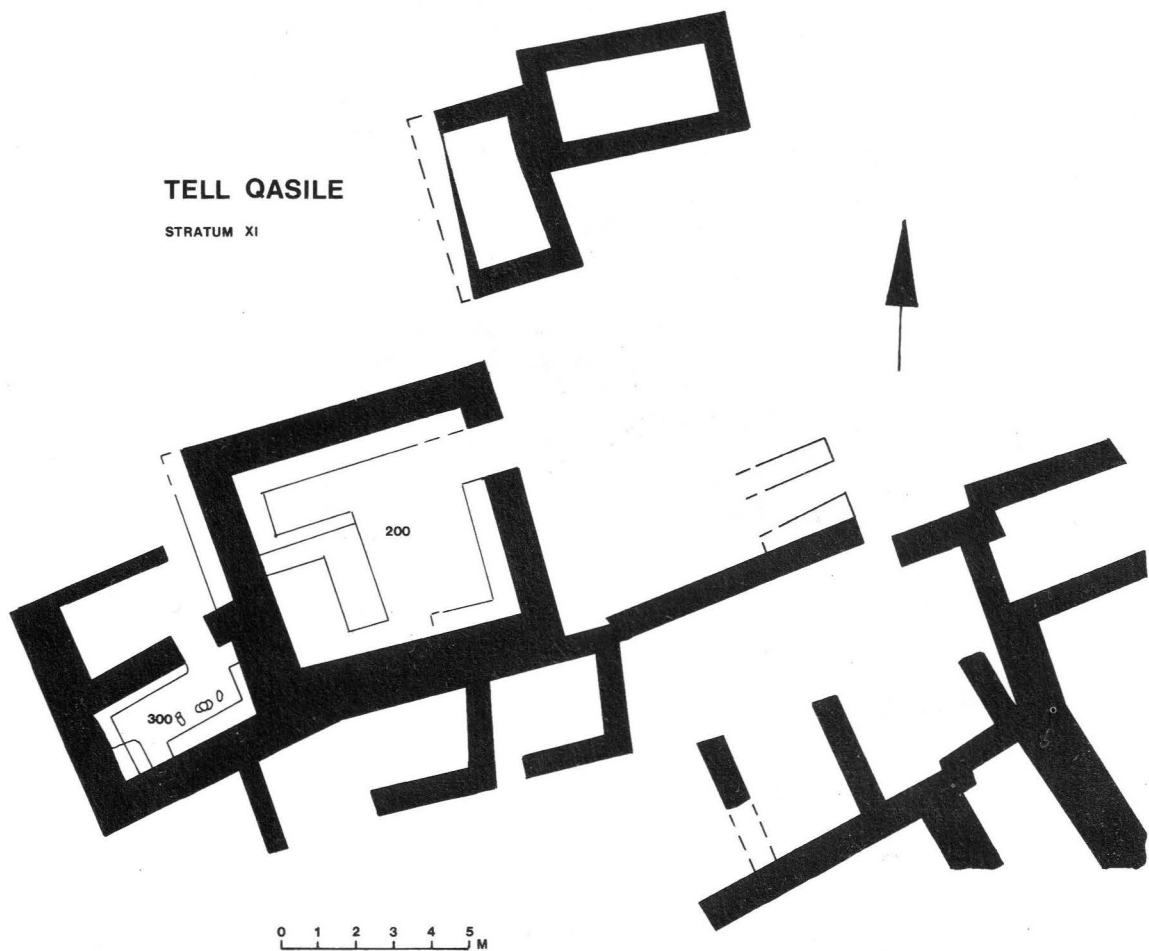


Fig. 28

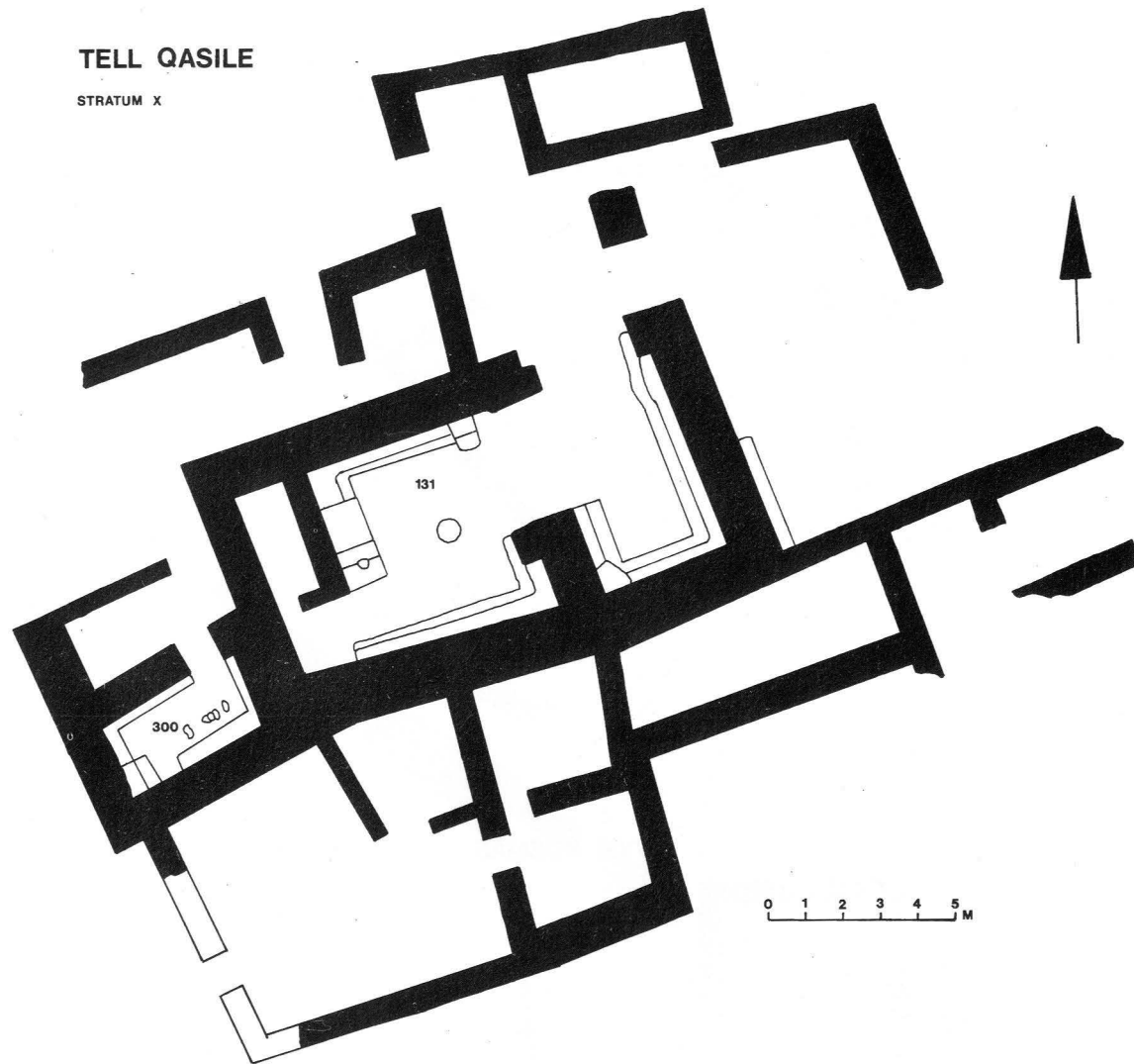


Fig. 29

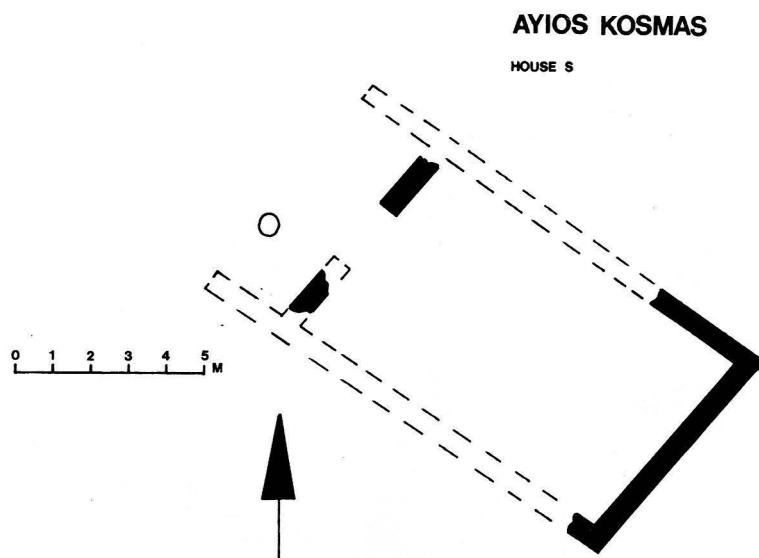


Fig. 30

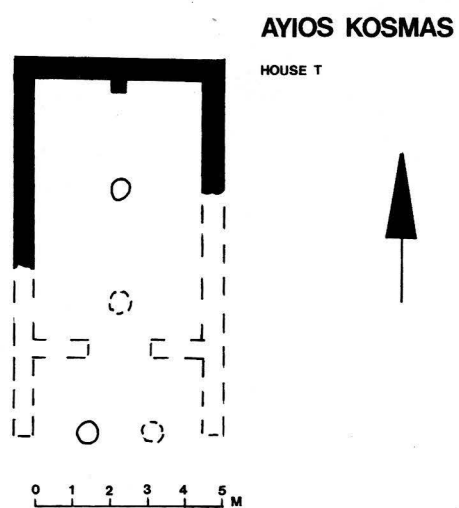


Fig. 31

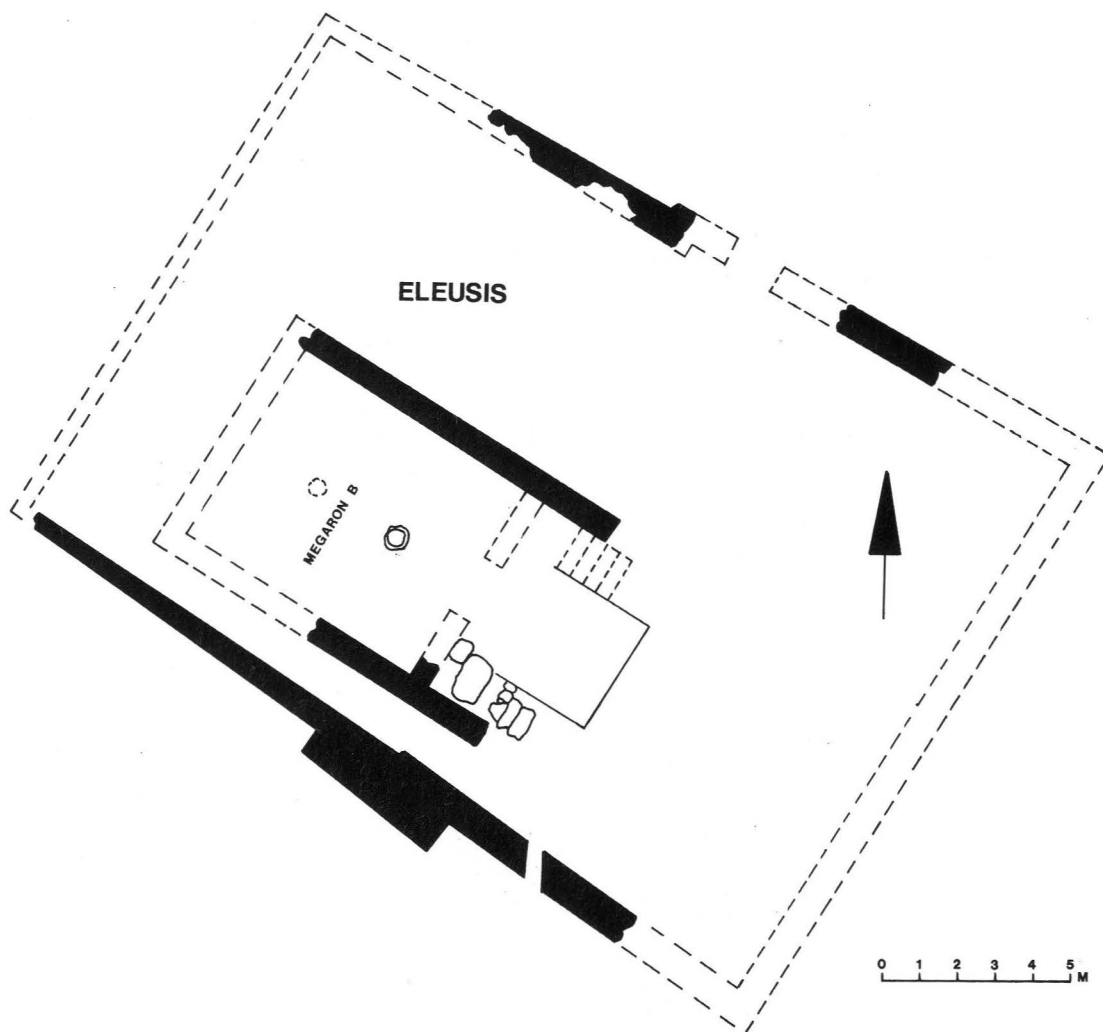


Fig. 32

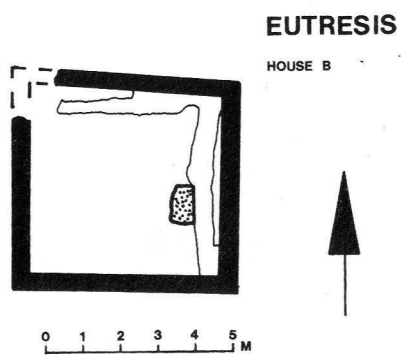


Fig. 33

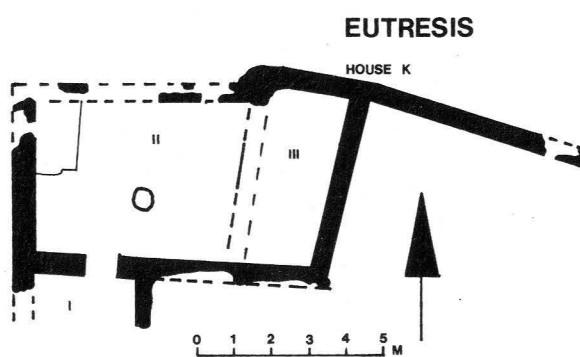


Fig. 34

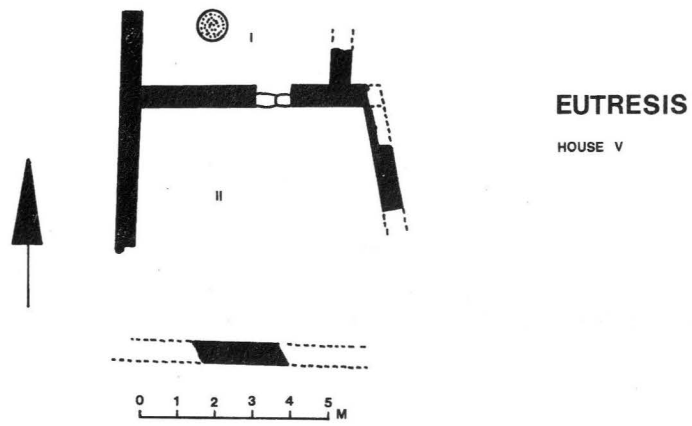


Fig. 35

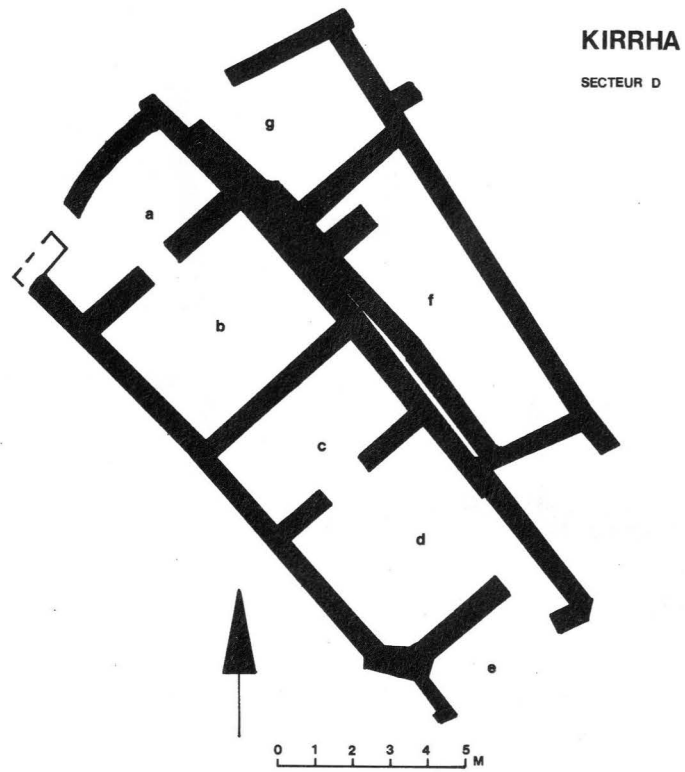


Fig. 36

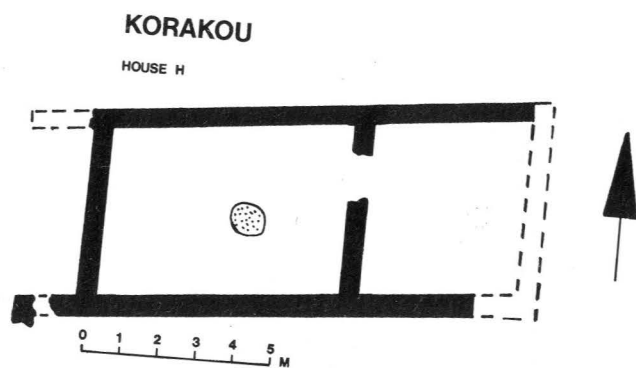


Fig. 37

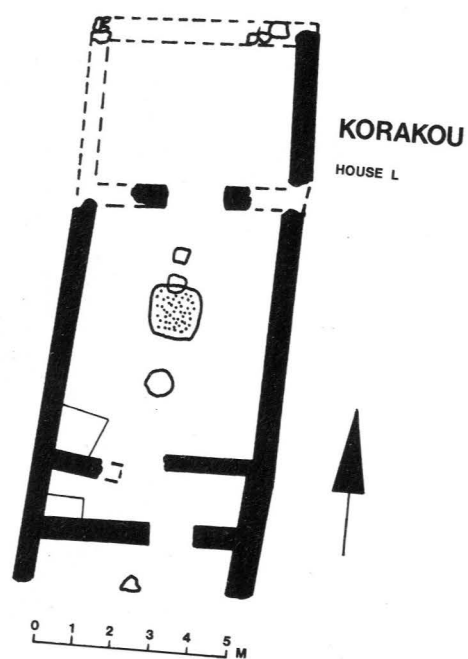


Fig. 38

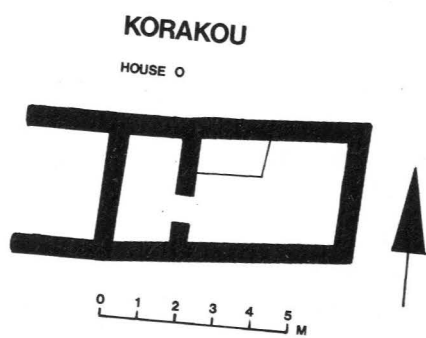


Fig. 39

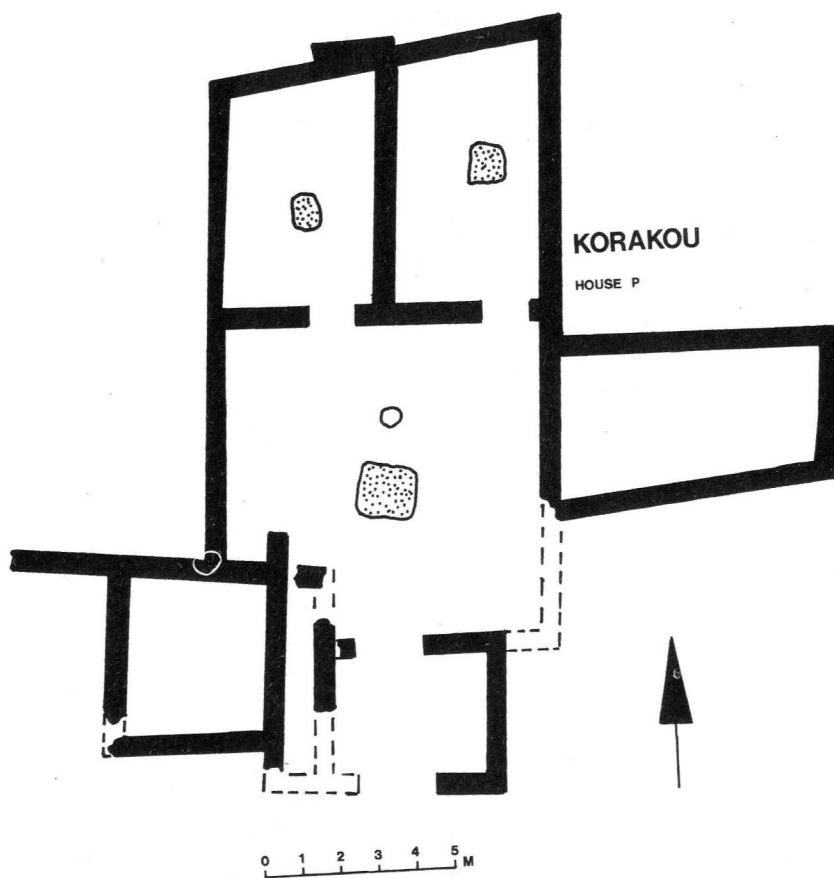


Fig. 40

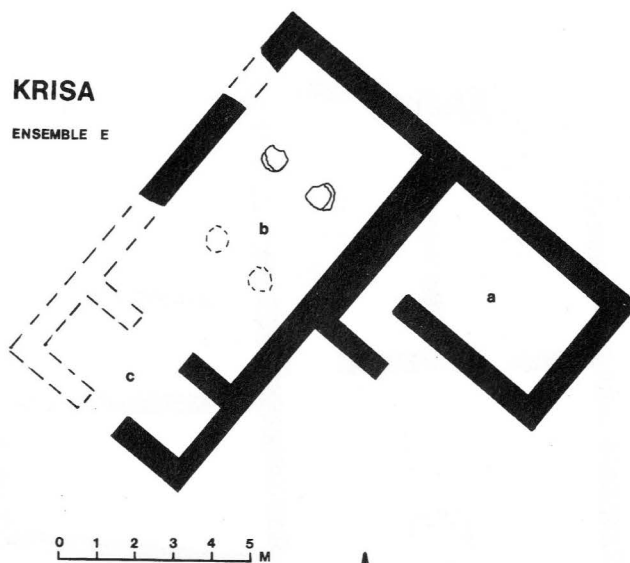


Fig. 41

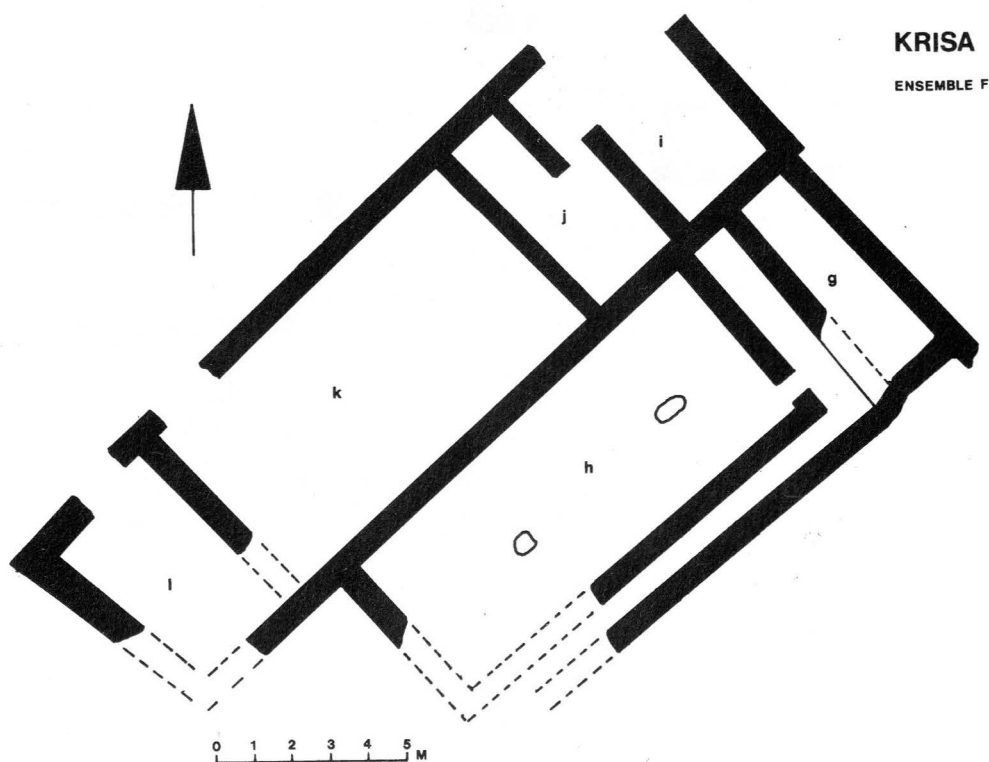


Fig. 42

MALTHI

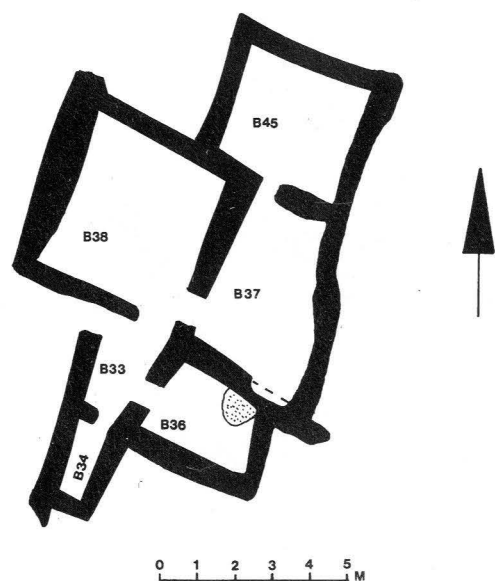


Fig. 43

MOURIATADHA

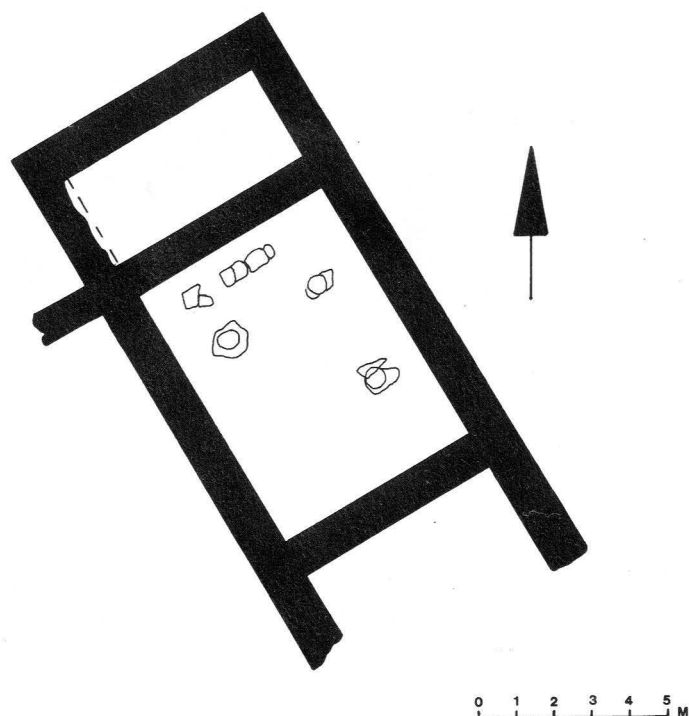


Fig. 44

MYCENAE
WEST HOUSE

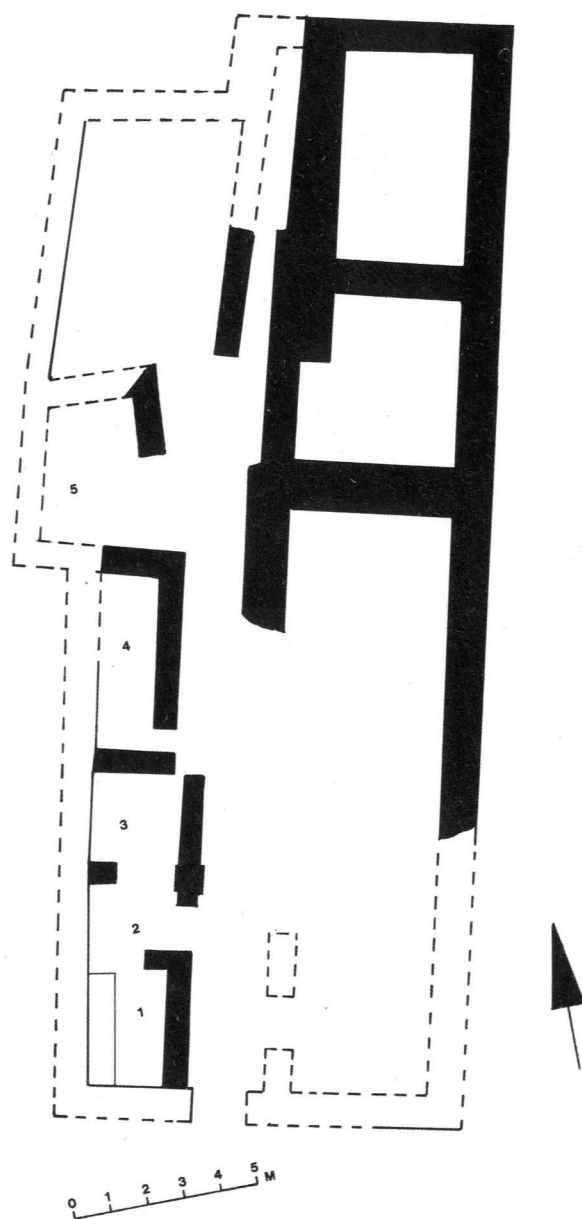


Fig. 45

MYCENAE
PANAGIA HOUSE I

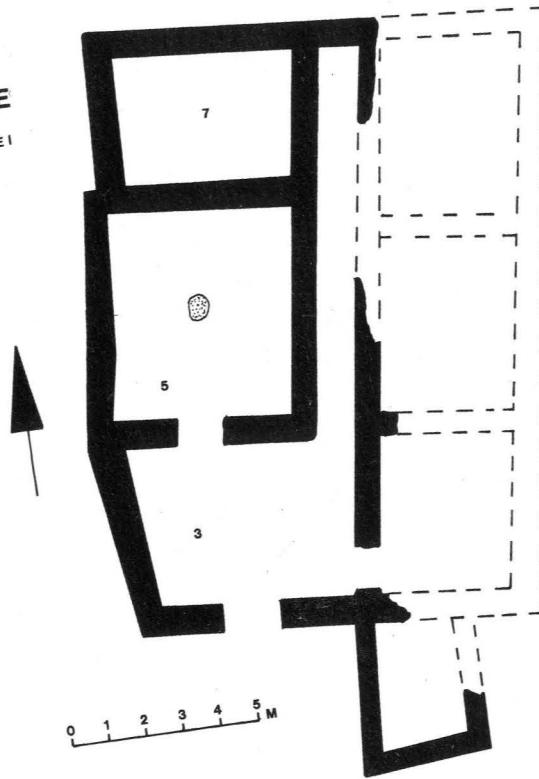


Fig. 46

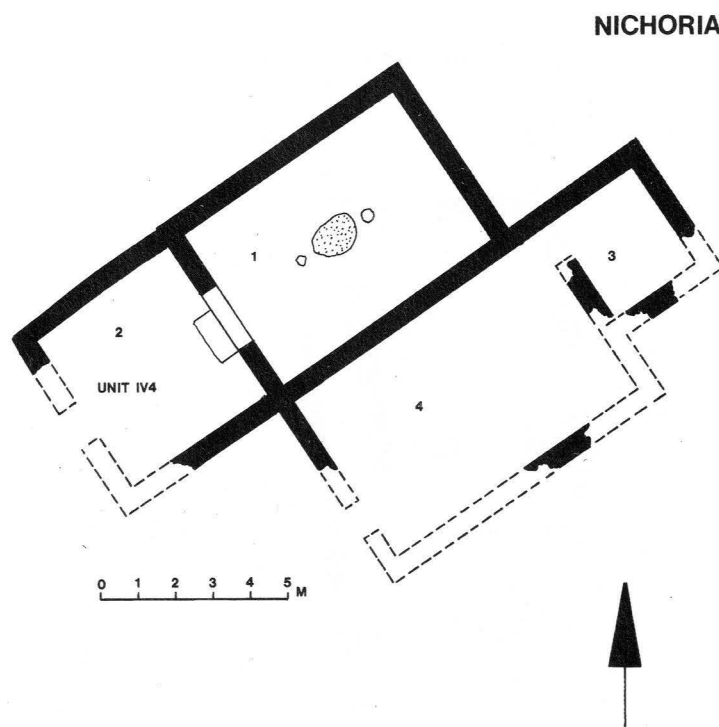


Fig. 47

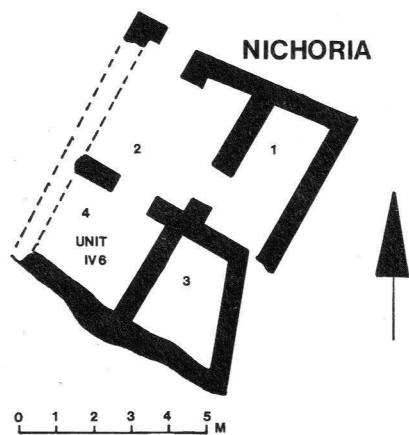


Fig. 48

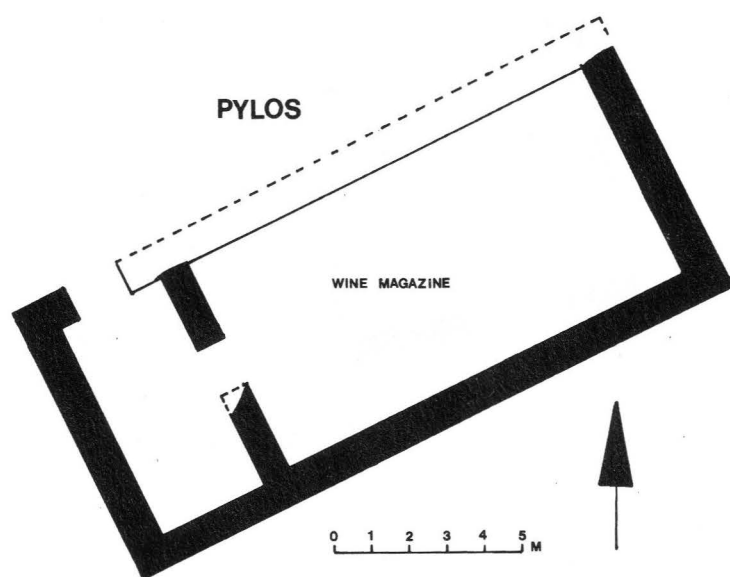


Fig. 49

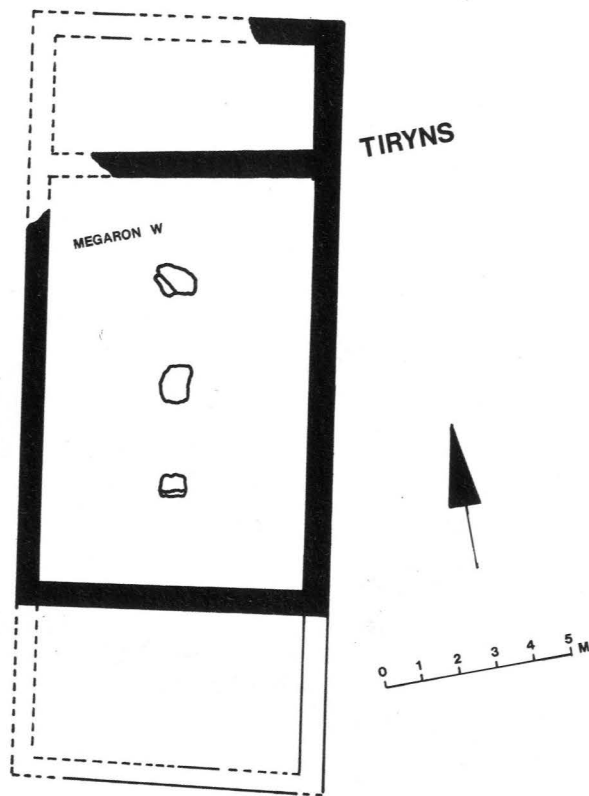


Fig. 50

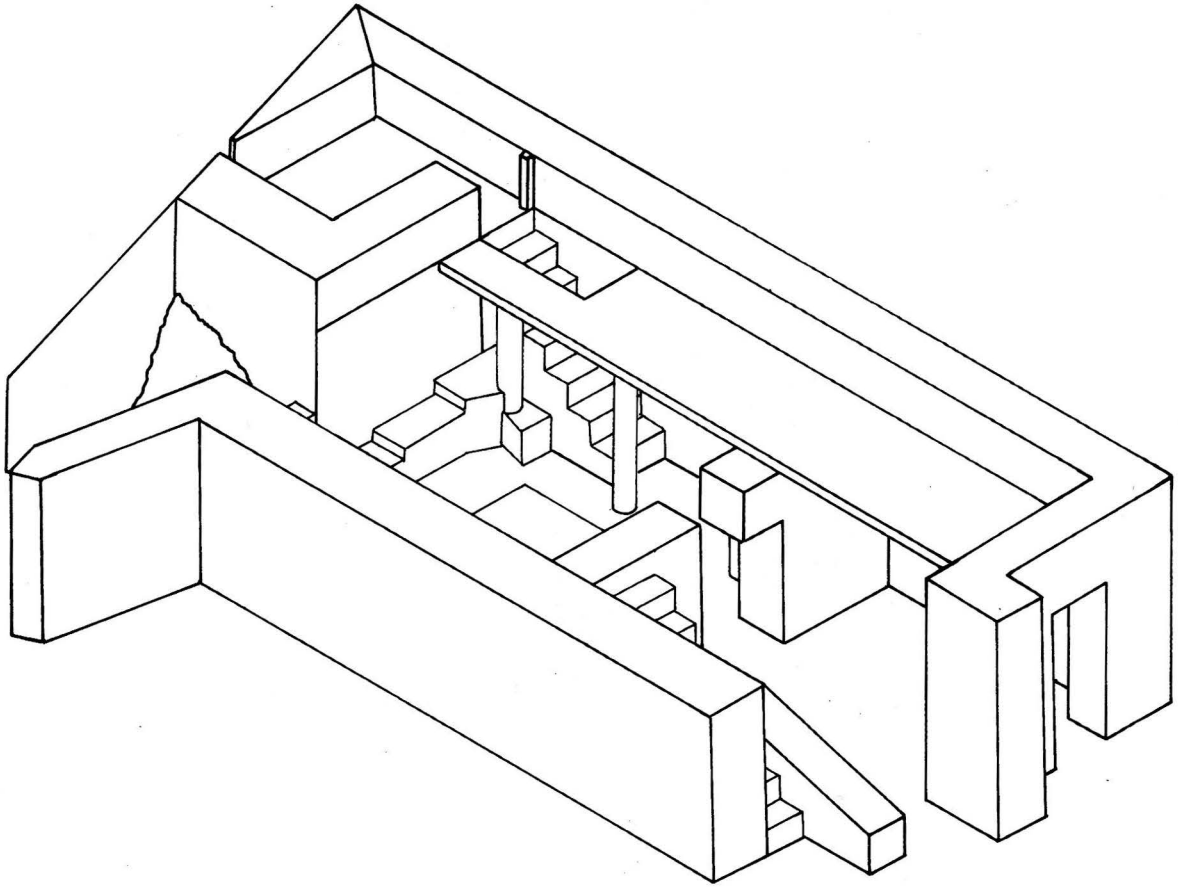


Fig. 51

THE ORIENTATION OF THE ENTRANCE IN MYCENAEAN CULT BUILDINGS

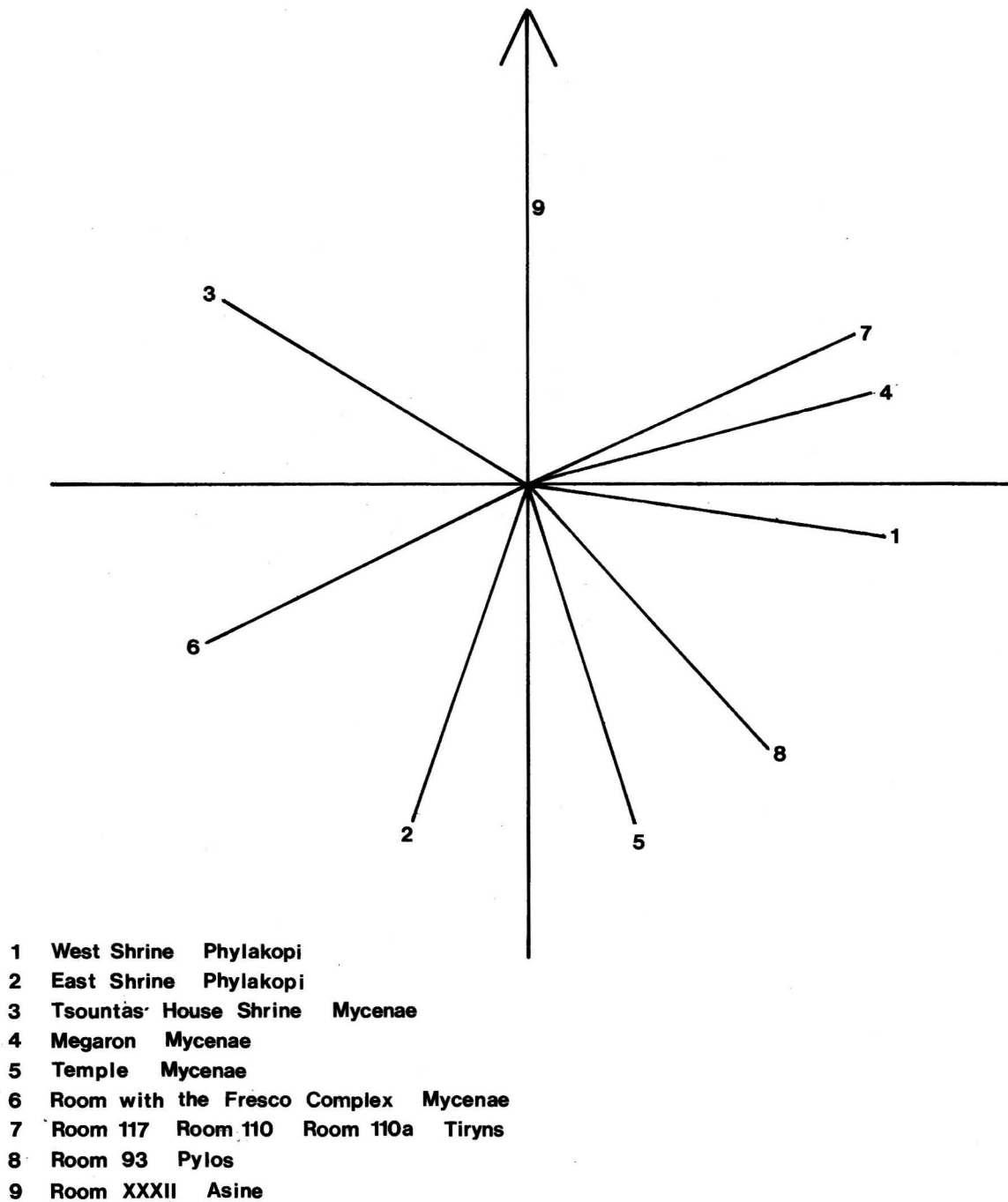


Fig. 52

THE ORIENTATION OF THE CULT FOCUS IN MYCENAEAN CULT BUILDINGS

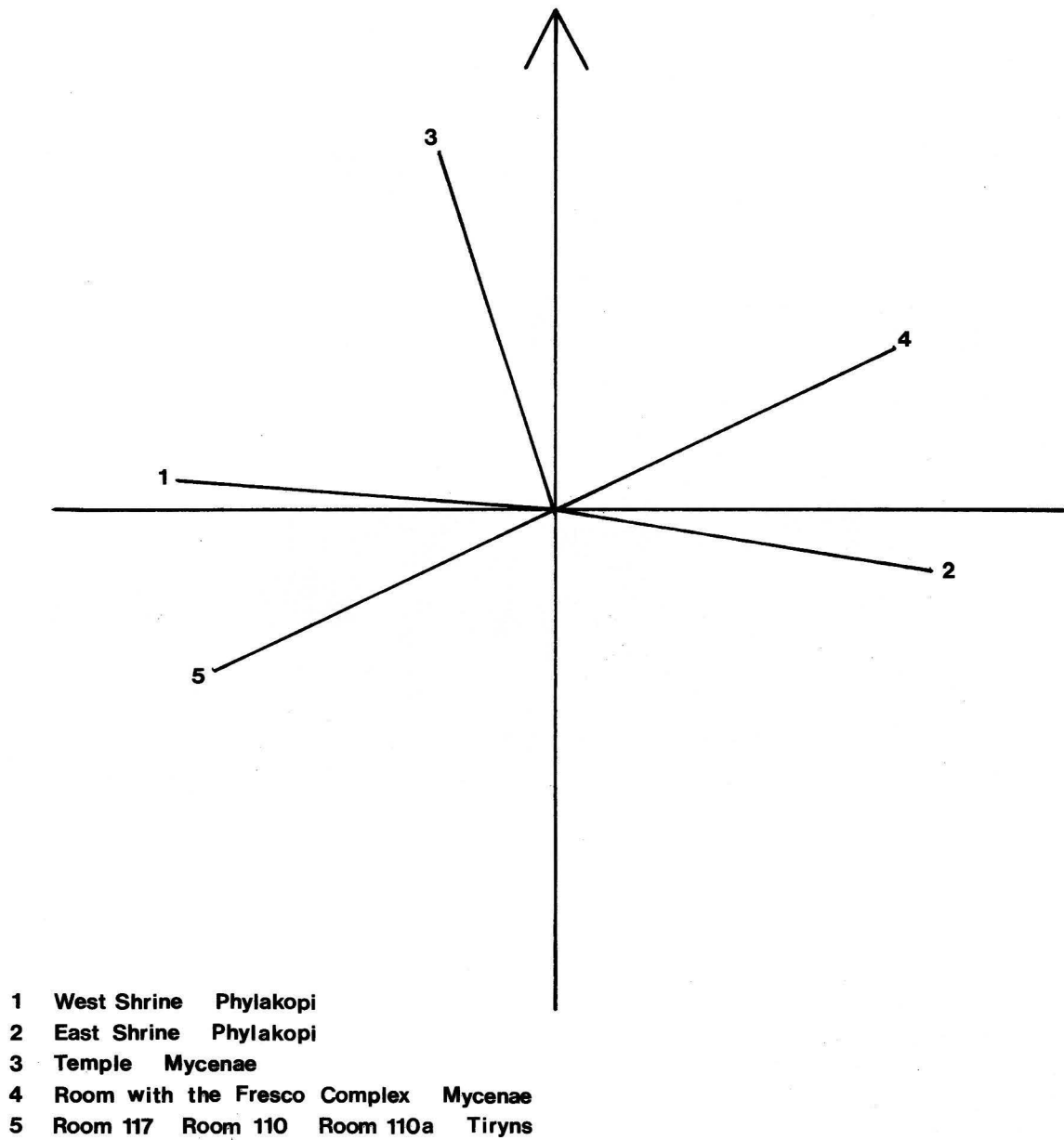


Fig. 53

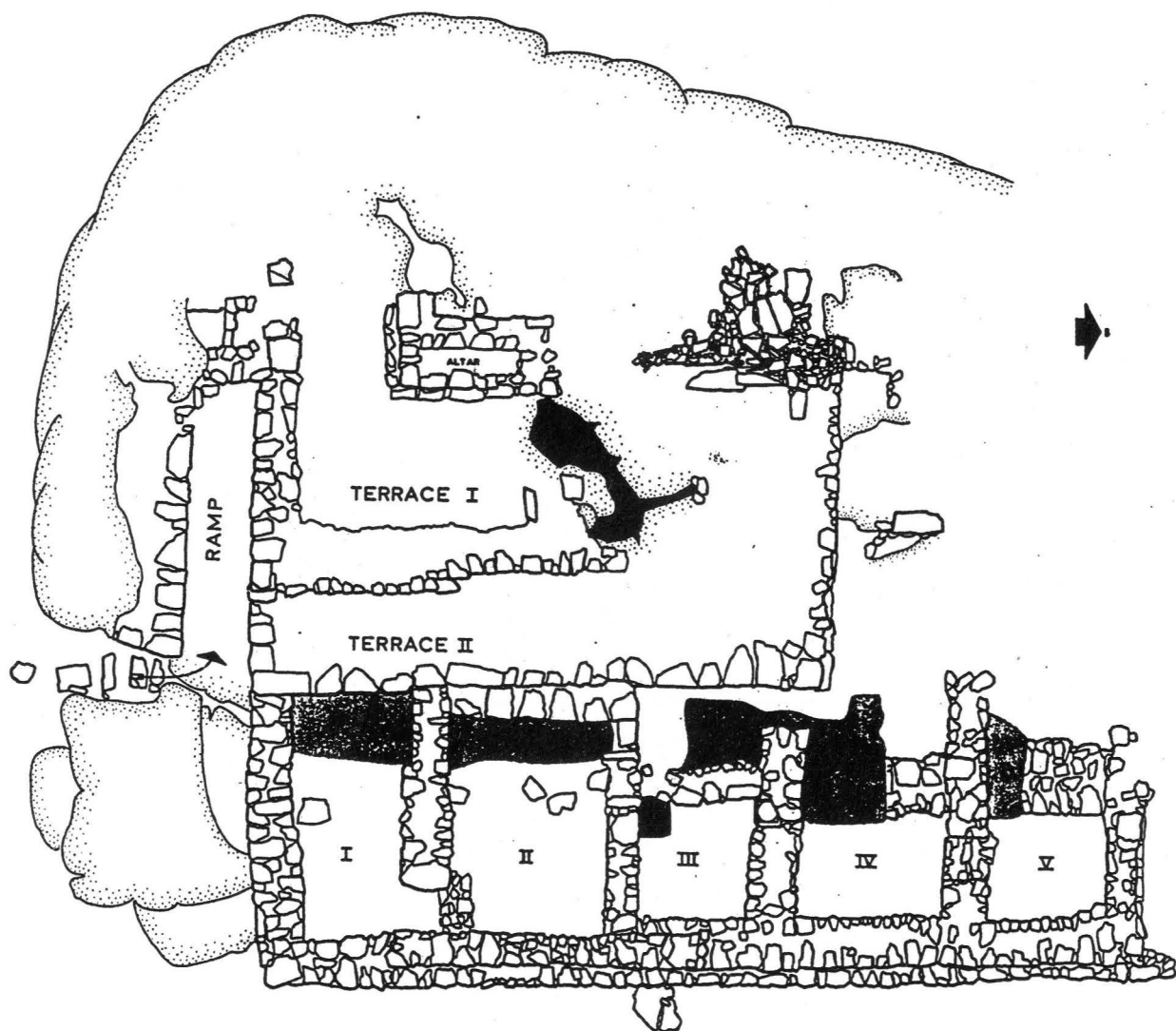


Fig. 54

MYRTOS

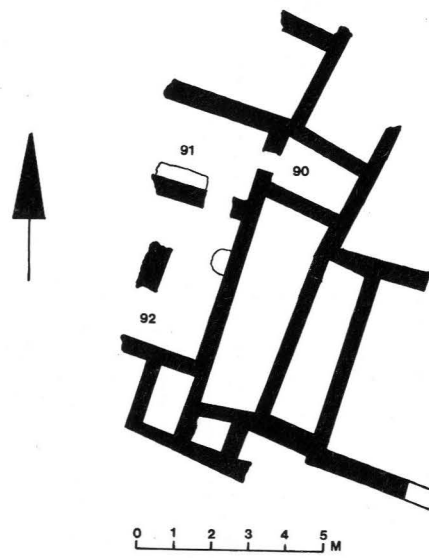
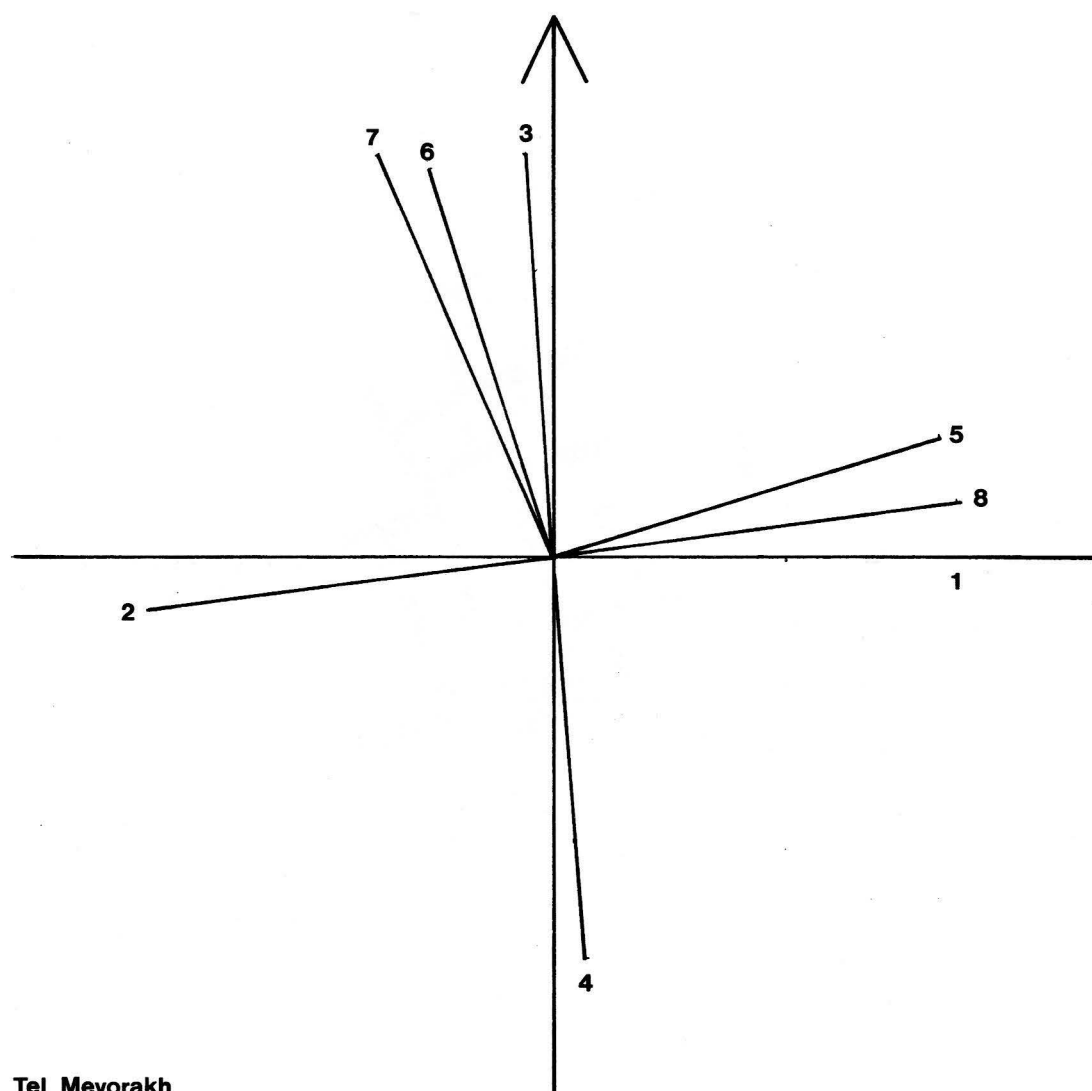


Fig. 55

THE ORIENTATION OF THE ENTRANCE IN PALESTINIAN TEMPLES



- 1 Tel Mevorakh
- 2 Fosse Temple I Lachish
- 3 Fosse Temples II III Lachish
- 4 Fosse Temple II Lachish
- 5 Temple 200 Tell Qasile
- 6 Temple 131 Tell Qasile
- 7 Shrine 300 Tell Qasile
- 8 Fosse Temple I Lachish

Fig. 56

THE ORIENTATION OF THE CULT FOCUS IN PALESTINIAN TEMPLES

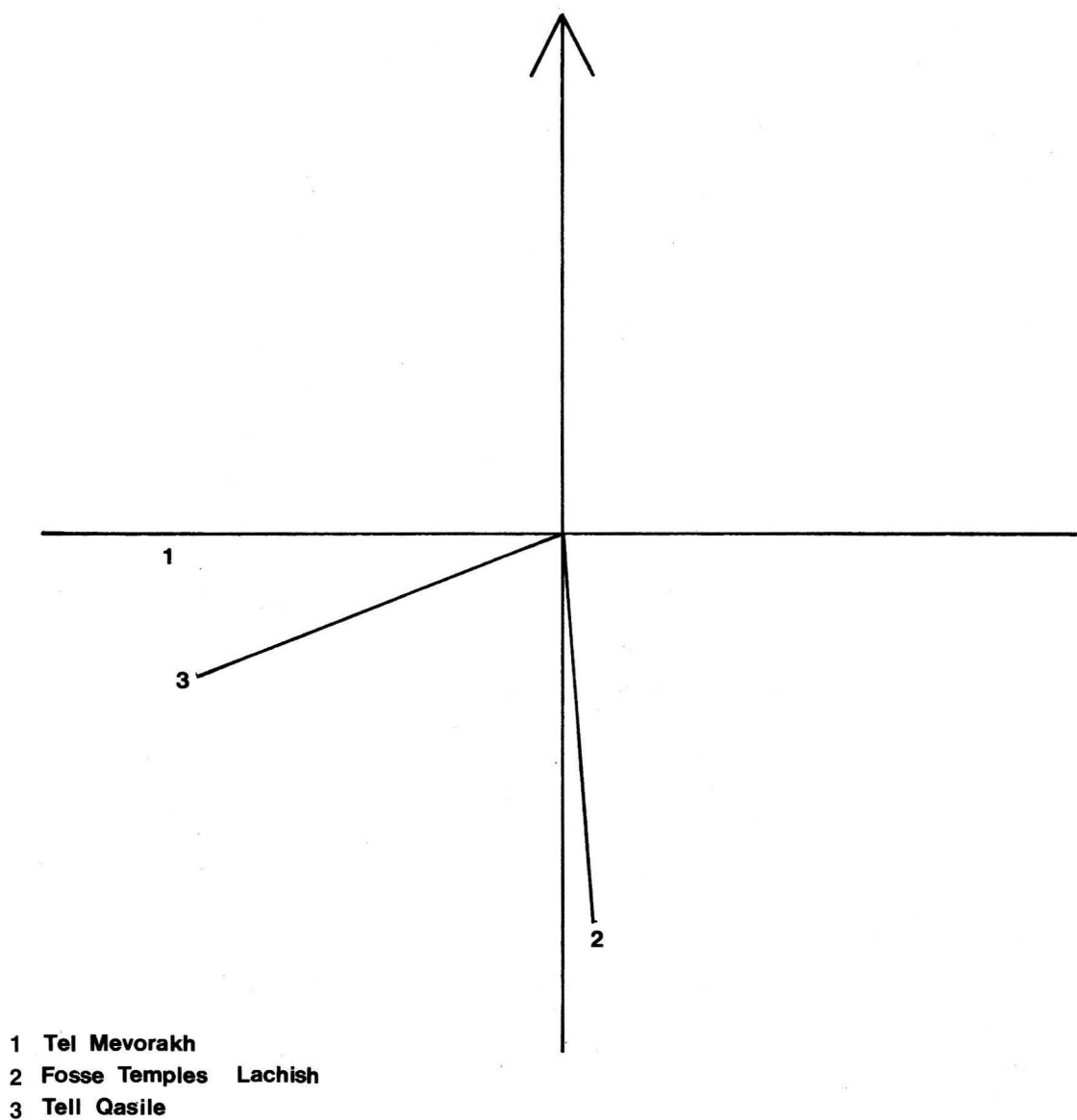


Fig. 57

PROPORTIONS OF THE MAIN ROOM OF MYCENEAN CULT BUILDINGS

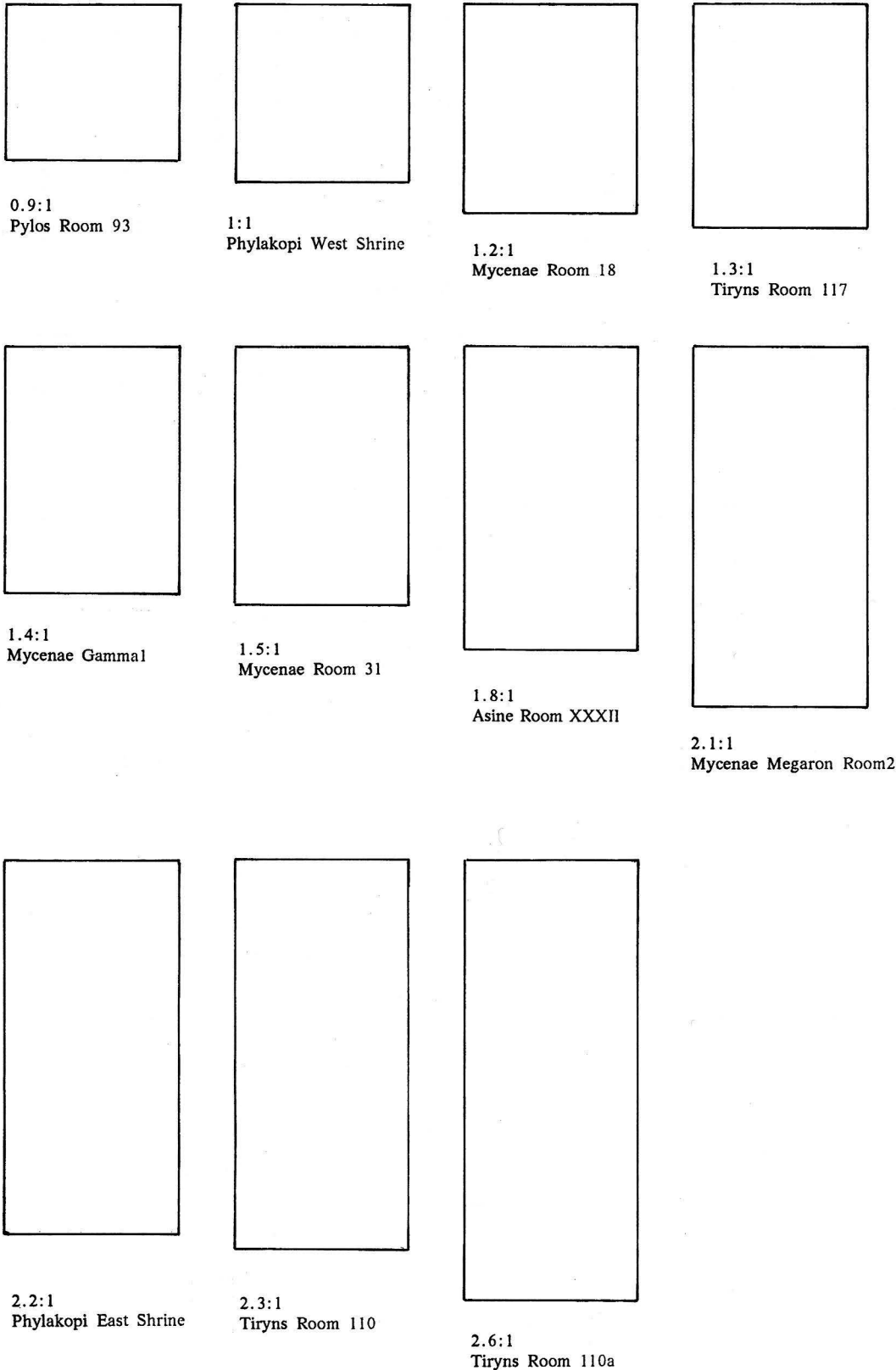
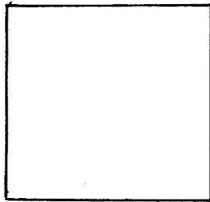
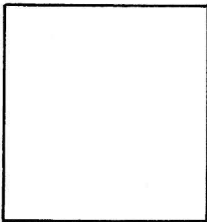


Fig. 58

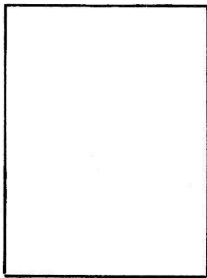
PROPORTIONS OF THE MAIN ROOM OF PALESTINIAN TEMPLES



0.9:1
Fosse Temples II & III



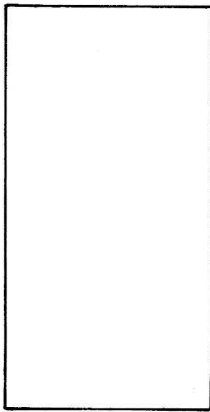
1.1:1
Tell Qasile Temple 200



1.3:1
Tell Qasile Temple 131

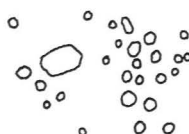
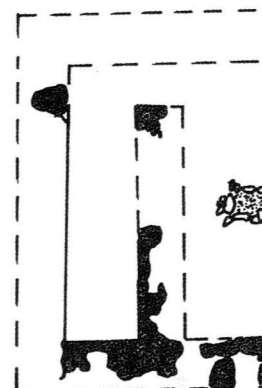
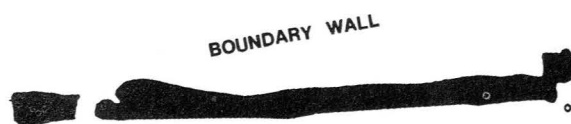
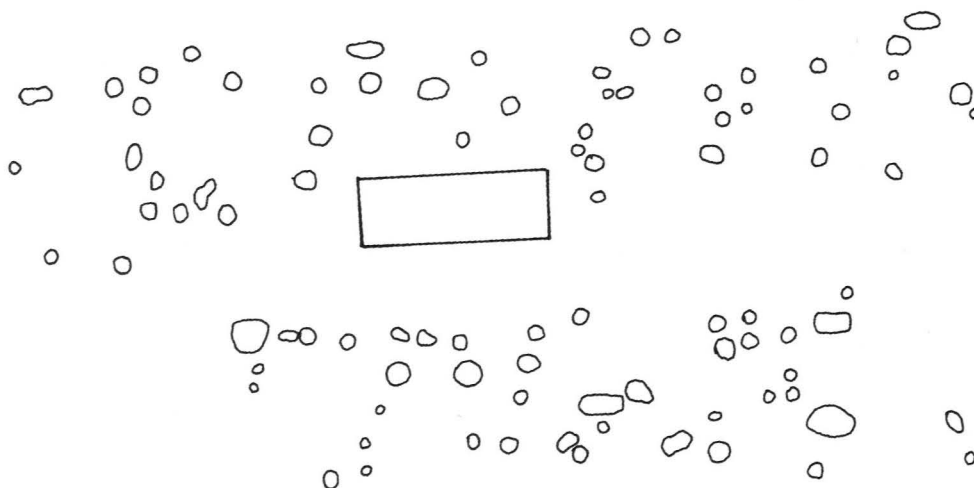
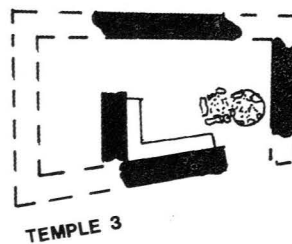
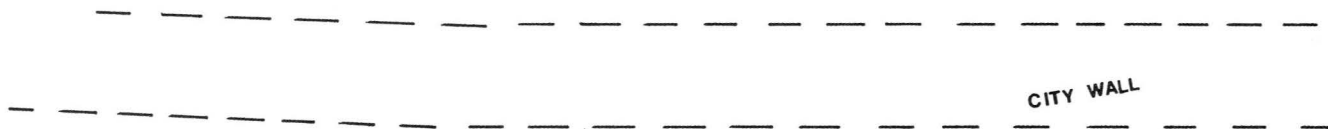


1.9:1
Tell Qasile Shrine 300



2:1
Tel Mevorakh
Fosse Temple I

Fig. 59



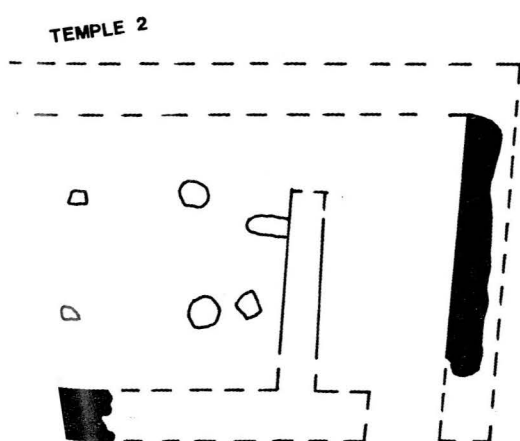
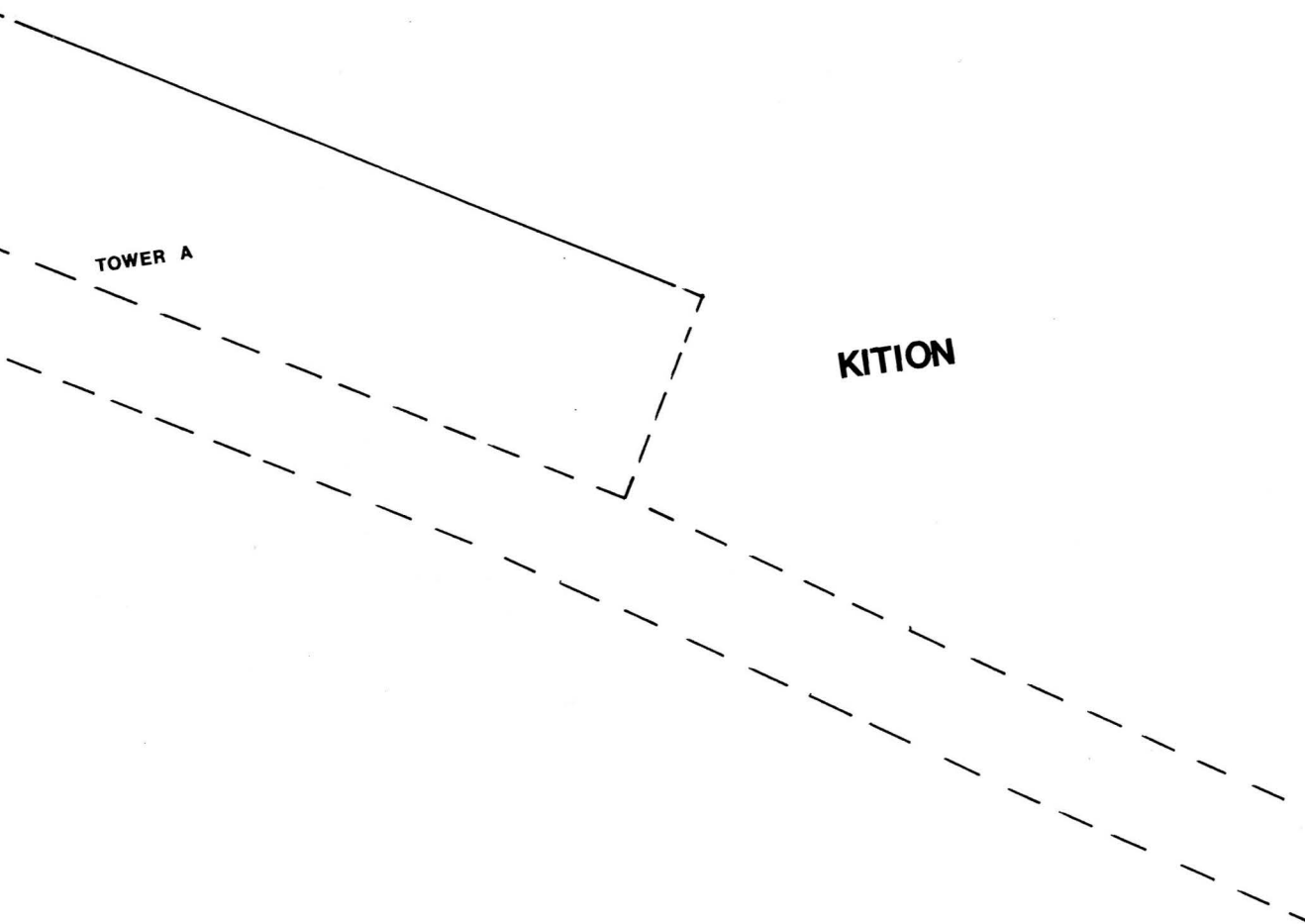


Fig. 60

PROPORTIONS OF THE MAIN ROOM OF MYCENEAN HOUSES

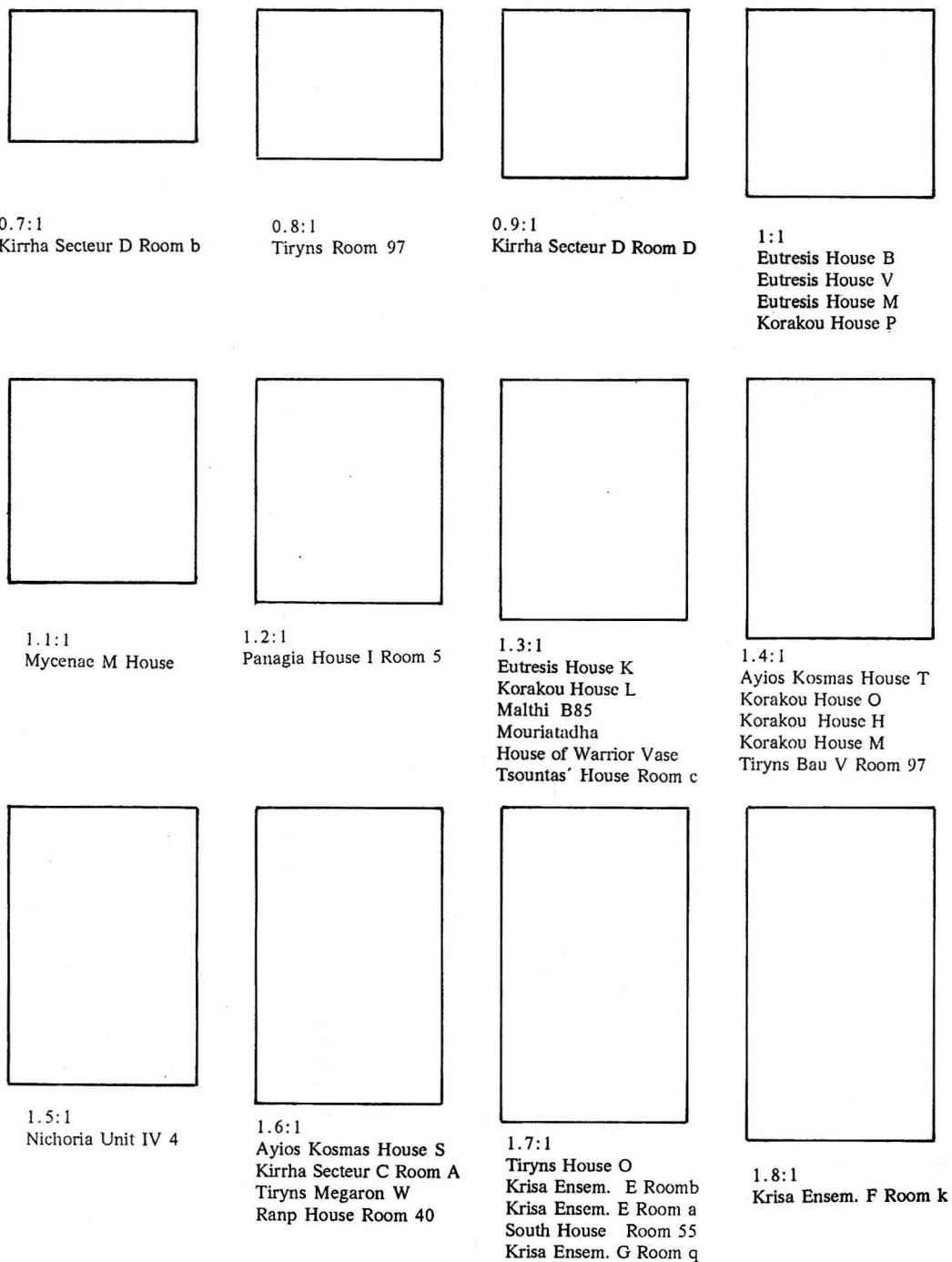
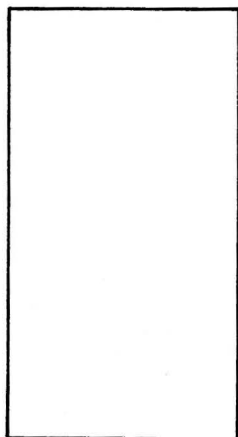
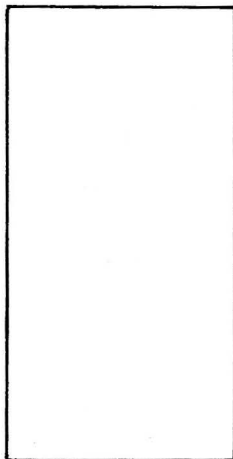


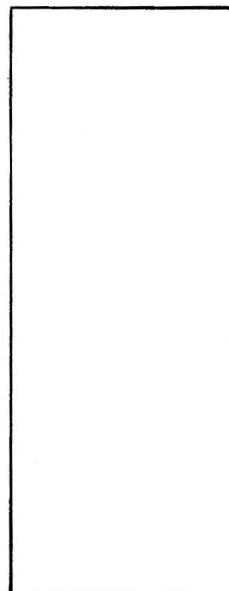
Fig. 61 (cont. next page)



1.9:1
Korakou House F



2:1
Tiryns Room 127
Mycenae Bldg B Room 2
Pylos Wine Magazine



2.6:1
Korakou House B

Fig. 61 (*cont. from opposite page*)

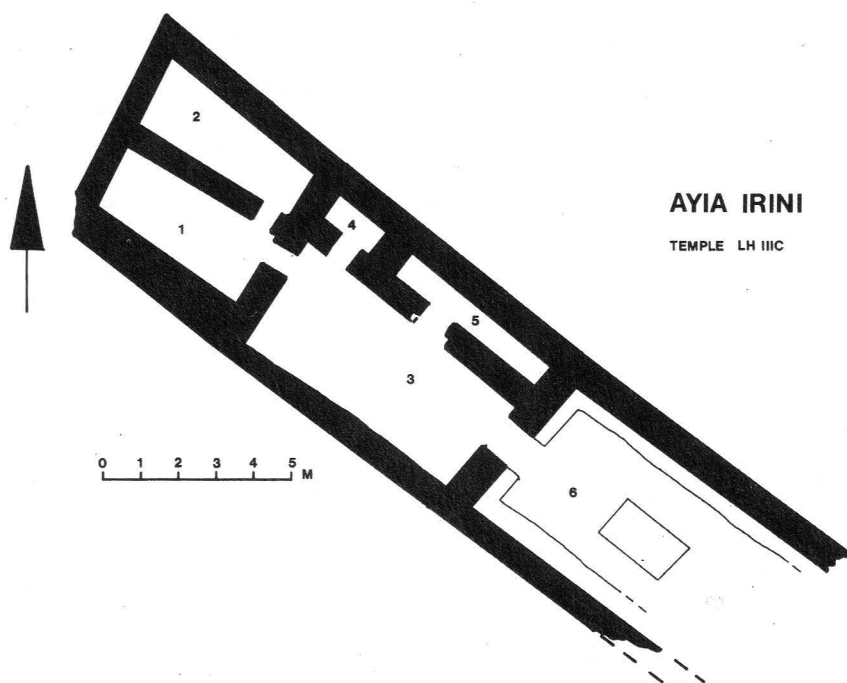
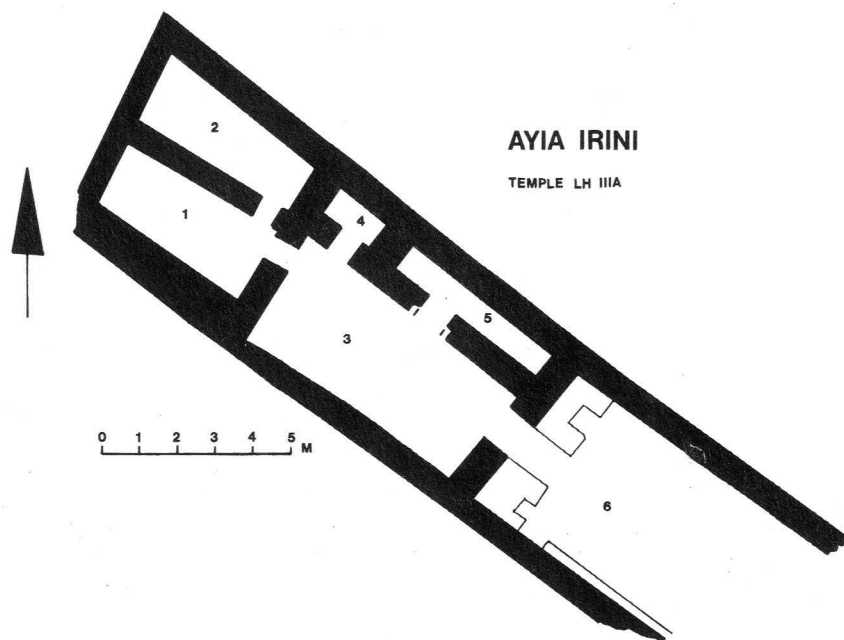


Fig. 62

